

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN PERU: THE HUAROCHIRI PROJECT

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In May 1953, this scheme for the development of native communities was begun. The area concerned, with a population of nearly nine thousand persons, includes 12 communities belonging to two districts in the province of Huarochiri in the mountainous part of the Department of Lima. It was the first time that an experiment of this kind had been undertaken in Peru, especially on so large a scale, and in which ethnologists and a team of experts in other disciplines were co-operating. In view of its purpose and nature, this project may be regarded as coming under the general heading of what Unesco calls 'fundamental education', since it is designed to raise the standard of living in these communities through education and, by encouraging local initiative and development, to foster the best elements of the native culture or, in other words, to respect its traditional values so that the people themselves may play a main part in the attainment of these aims. The scheme, which was preceded by a series of ethnological investigations begun in 1952, is a comprehensive one designed to bring about economic, social and cultural progress, and the results achieved will undoubtedly have important results for 5,000 native and mestizo communities living in the Peruvian mountains and totalling some three million people.

The organizers of the scheme regard it as an experiment which will provide useful comparative data, established in the field, about the efficacy of the methods to be used. One of Peru's great problems is the high percentage of the population living on very low standards, and such a pilot development scheme used for experimental purposes was felt to be a necessary first step before the launching of the great nation-wide plan for raising such communities to the level of those more highly developed.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROJECT

Since 1946, the Institute of Ethnology of the National University of San Marcos has been carrying out ethnological studies in the three regions of Peru, devoting special attention to the Andean region in which most of the Indian population is congregated, living in the so-called native communities and in villages, settlements and towns. For well-known historical reasons—the association of two civilizations which have not succeeded in combining—conditions have been unsatisfactory in this region and as a result it is economically poor and culturally under-developed.

In 1952 a study was begun of the district of Huarochiri, chosen because the population was homogeneous, and the geographical boundaries of the region clearly marked. A large amount of historical material about the region was also available and, from the very beginning of the investigations, the people showed understanding and a real desire to help. For over a year a team of five ethnologists carried out three comprehensive surveys in the communities of Huarochiri, San Pedro de Huancaire and Santiago de Anchucaya, and supplementary inquiries into such matters as local administration, legal traditions and the ethnological history of the area as a whole. The circumstances mentioned above led the ethnologists to contemplate launching a scheme on a larger scale.

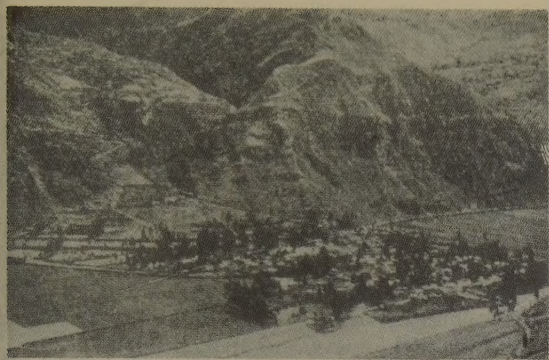
In Peru, as must certainly be the case in a number of the countries regarded as under-developed, many professional people, especially those returning from an extended study of their particular subjects in Europe or the United States of America, have always been prepared to begin or assist research into the conditions of the country and to take a hand in solving its problems; but for lack of an organization or institution to co-ordinate their work, it has hitherto been practically impossible to take proper advan-

tage of their willingness to help. Fortunately, in May 1953, the ethnologists established contacts with doctors and psychologists and an expert on town planning, and in this way—starting from what was originally a purely ethnological study—the present development plan, sponsored scientifically and economically by the Institute of Ethnology, was set on foot. The reports of the ethnologists were made available at a series of meetings and the problems to be investigated by the team of technical experts in process of formation were gradually worked out. The team was very considerably enlarged shortly after the first meetings, and an ethnologist and a town planning expert were made responsible for co-ordinating the various work plans. In order to give a better picture of the region, coloured and black-and-white slides illustrating certain geographical features and aspects of cultural life were shown at meetings. The various work teams, numbering 14 in all, and consisting of young professional people, were also formed during May, the membership being as follows: an economist, a sociologist, three psychologists, three doctors, three social welfare workers, three dieticians, two geographers, two town planning experts, three architects, two agricultural experts, one electrical engineer and one civil engineer, three naturalists, an art adviser, and seven ethnologists, two of them experts on education and one on law.

It should be noted that all these people are co-operating on a purely voluntary basis. During June it was necessary to arrange a number of meetings between the ethnologists and the members of each team, so that the specialists could be given detailed information, figures, charts, etc. The team of doctors, for instance, was given information about the types of illness recorded in the area, the notions the people had of illness and its causes and the extent to which they still resorted to the local 'herb doctors', existing health services, etc. All this information enabled each team to draw up its first work plans. By the end of June the reading, discussion and co-ordination of the plans was begun, with the object of avoiding duplication. These first stages were the most difficult, as it was necessary to train in a particular method of work a number of people with widely differing backgrounds; but, by never losing sight of the ultimate goal, the minor difficulties of the early days were always solved. It was agreed that in July the whole team should go to the region in order to get to know the field of work, to collate the available information, to investigate certain problems and to survey all the opportunities for development in such matters as the extension of the area under cultivation, the prospecting of mineral and hydraulic resources, the introduction of suitable industries and the possibilities of stock-rearing—in a word, to make a survey of agricultural, stock-rearing, mineral and industrial resources as the necessary economic basis for the proposed development scheme. A series of forms was prepared for the purpose, including complete medical histories for 500 persons, housing abstracts (20 for each community), and statements of family budgets. The Ministry of Health was also asked to help by providing vaccines and medicines.

For two weeks at the end of July and the beginning of August, the team travelled about the region visiting the different communities and carrying out its tasks in the best possible conditions, as it was well received by the people. All the communities, represented by their local councils, came to meetings and supplied information about their most urgent problems and needs. Talks were given to acquaint the people with the aims of the mission, which were illustrated in its specific and practical aspects such as health and hygiene, modern methods of growing potatoes, better use of manure, advantages of industrialization, etc. The people asked the town planning experts and architects to help them plan two new towns. The doctors treated over 600 persons, vaccinated 1,500 and performed one minor operation; the health officer from the village of Huarochiri accompanied the doctors and gave them every possible assistance. Medicaments were issued to those in need of them and tuberculin tests were given, especially to children. The team work proved highly successful and a proper balance was maintained by the wise use of the staff, all of whom visited the various communities in turn.

The Incas had developed a highly effective form of terrace farming. One aim of fundamental education work is to revive this practice.



On the team's return from this first journey, there was a discussion of the results achieved. Each group first reported on the work it had done and went on to submit a new and revised scheme, which was discussed and approved with such amendments as were thought necessary. Arrangements are being made to publish all these reports. The next stage, which has now been reached, is the preparation of a pilot project, for which the town planning expert and the ethnologist will be responsible. This project, subject to the necessary priorities and arrangement into stages, will provide the basis on which the development schemes will be carried out. Maps of the area have been made and the National Department of Aerial Photography will shortly produce an aerial map, which is a first necessity for the comprehensive scheme. Between January and March 1954, a complete statistical and sociological survey of the area was made, comprising over 60 questions to be answered by each family in the zone (it is estimated that there are 1,800 families), thus providing exact figures for planning purposes. From April 1954 onwards, the team of ethnologists has been in charge of the National College for Secondary Education and at this point the execution of the scheme actually began.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE COMMUNITIES

The 12 communities occupy two districts in the province of Huarochiri, in the western mountains of the Department of Lima, facing on to the Pacific and about a hundred miles from Lima, the capital of Peru. According to the 1940 census, these communities had 6,865 inhabitants; the present population is about 9,000. All these communities are situated on the head-waters of the river Mala—a number of streams and springs taking their source in the high mountain lakes and the melting snows and flowing down to meet in a small basin between 3,700 and 3,300 metres above sea-level, whence the river runs down to the sea. The basin provides excellent conditions for the development of settlements; topographically it is sharply delimited, with the uninhabitable mountains to the east, to the west a narrow defile through which the river Mala normally runs, the Pariacaca range (5,000 metres) to the south, and the Andean plateau, ranging in altitude from 4,000 to 5,000 metres, to the north. This large section of the mountain district looking towards the sea is one of the wildest in Peru and communications and contacts with the neighbouring settlements are difficult. The Lima-Huarochiri highroad was not completed till 1947 and, though the distance is only about one hundred miles, the journey takes 10 or 12 hours over one of the most difficult roads in Peru.

Huarochiri is the most important centre in the whole area. It is a mestizo settlement and, since the direct communication with Lima has been opened up, has been undergoing rapid changes. The 11 other communities, which are all quite close, are from 45 minutes to two hours walk away, seven being situated on the southern bank of the river and four on the northern. In 1948 the motor road was extended to San Lorenzo

de Quinti, the second largest community in the area. Each of these 12 communities is made up of a number of smaller settlements; Huarochirí, for instance, consists of four organized hamlets and an association of independent peasants, who do not belong to the hamlets but have banded together so that they may thus share in the life of the settlement as a whole. All these together make up the major community of Huarochirí. The 12 centres of population in question comprise a total of 28 hamlets and four associations of independent peasants.

The communities live by agriculture and stock-rearing, the main crops being potatoes, maize, wheat and vetches; the animals reared are mainly cattle, sheep and goats, cheese being the product from which the peasants make most money. Landholding and labour are both organized partly on a collective and partly on an individual basis. The collective system, which is native to the country, is daily losing ground and giving place to the individual system. At the present time, the only communal lands held by the communities are the high mountain pastures where the flocks feed; all the arable land is in private ownership, a system of distribution dating only from the beginning of the present century. There is a system of communal labour for certain tasks, such as cleaning out the drainage trenches or building public works and, occasionally, sowing seed. The old system of *ayni*, or mutual aid, is still to be seen in operation for the building of dwellings, at the time of marriage or death, and in various ceremonies connected with the cycle of life, but individual enterprise is steadily developing.

Community life is thus ill-adjusted, owing to the preservation of old forms of organization within a general system based on other ideas. This can be seen in every branch of activity. Efforts have been made gradually to reconcile the two ways of life in the evolution of the present communities but these efforts have depended entirely on the communities themselves, without aid from outside, so that while some have made progress others are in a critical position and have no means of their own for overcoming their difficulties. Individual ownership of land and individual labour in the face of such difficult natural conditions, and the use of primitive tools such as the foot plough or *taclla*, or mattocks for breaking up the ground, necessarily reduce productivity and the returns from the land diminish or remain stationary, generally at the level of three centuries ago, while the population increases—thus creating a disequilibrium which is reflected in low purchasing power and low consumption, malnutrition and poverty.

THE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

The scheme is based on extensive ethnological research, since a proper understanding of cultural conditions in the region is regarded as the only sound foundation for the work. All plans must be based on research designed to give a full and objective picture of the way in which the community concerned is organized. Any development programme has to take into account a great number of complex factors which must be properly co-ordinated. In order to improve the economy of a community without producing any ill effects, it is necessary to know the facts about its social organization, political system, standard of education, religious beliefs, ethical values, art forms, scientific knowledge, legal system, technical knowledge and about the position of the individual in relation to the world at large; also to know the importance of each of these factors in relation to others, such as education or technology. The reason for this is that any human community living in a given environment gradually builds up a way of life, a culture, in which all the above-mentioned factors interact and together form a structural whole, and this fundamental concept must be given due consideration in any development plan or indeed in arriving at an understanding of any given community. This is the first premise of the Huarochirí project.

At the first stage, the changes will be brought about by the ethnologists, who will remain in Huarochirí for two years at a time, based on the schools and communal centres, and gradually extending their influence to the people's homes and their various

Development of the community means also the retention or the revival of traditional arts.



activities. In view of their popularity with the local people, there is no doubt that they will exert great influence. Once the ethnologists are installed, the team of technical experts will begin work, visiting the communities, in accordance with the plans laid down, for such periods as may be necessary. Teachers, agricultural experts, dieticians and doctors will start work at once, paying a succession of visits over a period in order to see how their suggestions are being followed up. Later on the ethnologists, as the prime movers in the scheme, will gradually hand over their responsibilities to trained people belonging to the district, or to the local councils, who will become directly responsible for the work so that in due course the function of the team of experts will be purely advisory. The planned development will become a reality when all the local people think and feel it to be a fundamental aim in their lives and when it is also the goal of outside agencies, institutions and public departments. A great deal of co-ordination has to be done both in the communities and outside, and a number of complex factors must be reconciled and combined for the advancement of the work, so that this pilot project may ultimately influence the large numbers of people living in Peru in similar or even less satisfactory conditions.

EDUCATION

Primary schools have been in existence for a long time, the oldest school in Huarochiri having been founded 50 years ago, but the results achieved have not led to the development of any awareness of the need for improvement—a phenomenon which is found in many places because the educational system bears no relation to the traditional local values: in a nation consisting of so many different groups, the Peruvian schools all follow the official syllabus and programme, which make no allowance for cultural differences.

Broadly speaking, the present situation may be described as follows: children of both sexes go to school on reaching the age of six to eight. Of the boys 30 to 40 per cent, and of the girls 10 to 15 per cent complete the fifth year of primary education (estimates, no exact figures being available). Of these children, the more favourably situated economically continue their education at secondary schools in Lima (10 to 20 per cent of the boys and 3 to 5 per cent of the girls), while the remainder begin work at home or on the land.

Of the group studying in Lima, 5 to 10 per cent of the boys and only 1 to 2 per cent of the girls finish their secondary education, somewhere between the ages of 17 and 20.

Some of those who, for different reasons, do not complete their education, go back to their communities while others take clerical jobs of various kinds and sometimes manual work, always however remaining in the lower middle or lower classes of society. Those who qualify for a profession stay in Lima or settle in the capitals of the departments. At the present time there are only three exceptions to this rule: two dentists and one agricultural expert have returned to their respective communities. Those who go in for teaching always have the opportunity, and generally desire, to work in their own communities. Almost all the teachers in the Huarochirí district were born in the area. The people from Huarochirí who settle in Lima belong to the Association of Residents which, like all similar associations of people from the provinces and districts, seeks, with varying success, to secure help for their own people.

For a long time the aim of the schools was to train people for the professions, education not being regarded as an end in itself. The rural schools, which are designed to improve education by giving the pupils some technical training as well, have been established too recently to have produced any appreciable results so far. Adults of the present generation have no inducement to read and forget whatever they learn from day to day. Those who are elected to official posts are obliged to read and write constantly during their terms of office, but women have practically no opportunity for reading once they have left school and it is not surprising that many of those who have attended school for only one or two years in time forget how to read. On the other hand, professional people from Huarochirí constantly encourage the young people to continue their education, and this is made easier by the proximity of the capital. At the same time, this means that the communities are deprived of potential leaders, since the ablest of their members, who could give most help in the development of the region, regularly move away from it. This is one of the problems with which the team of teachers will have to deal.

We consider that education in itself presents an enormous problem, to which there are two aspects—the official aspect, i.e. school education, and the social aspect, the process to which an individual is subjected throughout his life and which is made up of the training for everyday life given by the family, by the social group of which he forms a part, by the daily business of life, and by dealings with the various institutions with which he comes in contact. This is the non-official aspect of education and we cannot lay too much stress on its over-riding importance. Only by bearing both these aspects in mind can we achieve success in our campaign. In the first place, the schools must be converted into vital organizations where the teaching given bears a proper relation to the local culture. Every boy or girl who has been at school for five or six years should possess enough theoretical and practical knowledge and enough basic education to enable him or her to lead a satisfactory life. We have to make the school a true centre of life and development by transforming its methods and techniques. A valuable contribution to this end is made by Unesco's publications, of which, with suitable adaptation, every possible advantage will be taken. If they are reformed along these lines, the schools will provide excellent bases for operations under the proposed development scheme. At present, however, children do not go to school until the age of six or seven, and in any case the most important factor in their lives must always be the home. It is therefore necessary to exert a simultaneous influence on adults, on institutions and on daily life if we are to rouse the community as a whole.

The campaign based on the schools began in April of this year, employing visual aids, slides, posters and propaganda. Broadcasting and films will also be used in this campaign, although not at the outset owing to the shortage of equipment. The object is to awaken keen interest throughout the community or, figuratively speaking, to put it on the alert, and to initiate short-term public development works which will encourage the efforts of the local people, such as communal labour for building the new township of Llambilla, repairing the highway, establishing public health services in all villages, introducing sanitation services, experimenting in the cultivation of

certain crops and solving all problems relating to the sale of cheese, which is the principal source of income. The improvement of the teaching system and the extension of education to the heads of families and members of the local councils will make it possible to achieve the aims set in the programme.

The schools and local councils will then work in collaboration. The latter have special premises which are used for community meetings and which will serve as working centres at which explanatory talks will be given and discussions held on the desirability of the work to be undertaken. The authors of the scheme believe that these councils are the key to success. Eventually they will be responsible for carrying out the programme. Efforts are already being made to solve the problem of providing training for their members; the leading members of the community, like the others, visit Lima fairly frequently and are already acquainted with the work of the Institute of Ethnology, its offices and the undertakings in which it is engaged, while those who are most interested are able to read in its library. They are also familiar with the offices of the other technical experts, and the fact of having access to places of which they formerly knew nothing and in which they are warmly welcomed has roused their enthusiasm, so that they make it their business to influence the rest of the country people. They always take back good reports to their villages, strong in the knowledge that there is an organization from which they can count on receiving disinterested advice and help.

THE MEDICAL AND SOCIAL SIDE OF THE SCHEME

This part of the scheme will begin with the establishment of a health centre in Huarochiri itself, staffed by a doctor and a health officer. At the outset it will be financed out of the budget for the project but will afterwards become a permanent institution financed by communal funds. Its immediate tasks will be to carry out comprehensive inquiries about the illnesses from which the people most often suffer, to set up welfare services for mothers and children, to provide health education and, of course, to give medical treatment to those in need of it.

ECONOMIC ASPECT

Unless special attention is given to this aspect, we cannot hope for any constructive results from the development scheme, since the key to a region's development lies in its economy. There is much to be planned and to be done in this respect, such as the provision of instruction in the administration of each community's funds and the establishment of a communal bank or fund for the 12 communities so as to provide resources for the carrying out of the various programmes. At the present time, the spirit of thrift, when any saving is possible, either for individuals or for institutions, is most often reflected in useless hoarding. What we have to do is to increase the revenue of the communities and seek for new sources of revenue. As regards production, we must bear in mind that this is an area where the market is limited, the purchasing power of the population low, access to larger markets difficult—and there is no skilled labour. It is therefore impossible to contemplate establishing modern, mass production manufacturing industries. We consider that, for the time being, the best results will be obtained by the development of craft industries to meet local needs, such as carpentry, cabinet-making, smithing, pottery, shoe-making, belt-making, spinning, weaving, etc. so that only those things which cannot be produced locally need be imported.

One problem which needs serious consideration is that of increasing the production of livestock and agricultural crops, since Huarochiri will remain essentially an agricultural area. Here the agricultural experts will have a hard task, for the present antiquated system with its low returns requires complete reform. This will be brought about by developing co-operative organization and communal farming, which is not alien to the people's customs. We already have a report from the botanists, who have

carried out a very thorough survey, spending two months in the countryside. It is necessary to extend and restore the system of terraces for cultivation in order to prevent erosion, to plant trees for the same purpose, and to establish plantations of native species and eucalyptus in order to provide fuel and building materials. The improvement of farming calls not only for the promotion of better cropping but also for intelligent use of fertilizers, the clearing of overgrown wasteland, proper selection of soil and seed (a point never before considered) and, as the essential counterpart to all this, the modernization of agricultural machinery.

Livestock development is also important, as, in the high altitudes, great stretches of natural pasture land suitable for sheep, cows and *vicuñas* are available. The present animals are not pedigree stock, nor are they given any special attention, so that the production of wool, meat and cheese falls short of what it might be.

If these products are to be sold outside the region, good roads and communications will be necessary to prevent their deterioration. As has already been mentioned, the repair of the highroad by communal labour is one of the matters which are to receive immediate attention. The economic plans also include a proposal for making use of existing waterfalls to establish a hydro-electric centre.

LIVING ACCOMMODATION

In the light of the surveys carried out, plans and models have been prepared showing the types of dwelling best suited to the needs of the region, with essential services laid on and a new type of cooking stove which will save the housewife from having constantly to crouch on the ground. At the same time, ideas and designs have been worked out for suitable furniture within the means of the people. Needless to say, these plans are accompanied by instructions for the better use of available materials and by a detailed description of the method of construction. Hitherto, the house has not been regarded by the Peruvian country people as a pleasant place and the centre of family life; it has simply been somewhere to sleep and to keep things in, and carelessness in looking after it is traditional. One of the reasons for this is that women do not spend much time in the home. It is perfectly possible to bring about a change in this situation through the improvement of living accommodation, accompanied by far-reaching reforms in communal life, even though immediate results are not to be expected; something will thus be done to encourage a more satisfactory family life.

The study of dietetics is providing us with material which will help us to tackle this vital problem. Leaflets will be issued to acquaint housewives with the importance of nutrition and to suggest recipes and balanced diets for adults in general, for children, for expectant mothers and for invalids. This is a particularly important question, and very little attention has yet been devoted to it in the area. The diet is inadequate, and very little care is devoted to the preparation of food; the present teachers consider that a contributory cause of their pupils' inability to concentrate and pay proper attention is malnutrition. The solution of this problem is, of course, closely bound up with the question of production; better nutrition depends on the better economic position of each family.

These are merely the questions which will be tackled immediately, since the whole scheme is a long-term one. Throughout the programme, sociologists and social psychologists will study the reactions of the communities, their behaviour and their attitudes towards the changes.

Up to the present the scheme has been given no publicity and this is the first article about it to appear in any review. Those responsible for it wished to keep out of the limelight in order to avoid the difficulties which publicity might entail. The studies, plans and results already achieved have, however, been duly noted for publication later.

WRITING GRADED TEXTBOOKS FOR LITERACY TRAINING

ELLA GRIFFIN

This article is part of a series in which we examine the different educational and technical problems involved in the production of literature for illiterate and neo-literate adults. Apart from our Preliminary Survey on Methods of Teaching Reading and Writing by William S. Gray (Educational Studies and Documents, No. V) the interested reader is referred particularly to the following articles which have appeared in recent numbers of this bulletin: 'Using Linguistic Analyses in Literacy Methods in Mexico', Ethel E. Wallis. Vol. IV, No. 4, October 1952. 'The Construction and Use of Readers for Aymara Indians', Eliane Mielke Townsend. Vol. IV, No. 4, October 1952. 'Writing and Illustrating Books to Follow Literacy Campaigns', Ella Griffin. Vol. V. No. 3, July 1953. 'The Development of a Production Unit', Donald Burns. Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1954. 'An Analysis of Publications for Adults: Puerto Rican Experience', I. Rodríguez Bou and David Cruz López. Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1954.

It is now generally recognized that the literacy campaign is a means, not an end. It is an intensive course of training designed to enable people to learn to read in as short a time as possible. The goal, of course, is to help them reach a point where they no longer have to depend solely upon word of mouth for receiving or giving information.

Some literacy campaigns have been failures because, during the process of teaching, too much emphasis was placed on the mechanics involved in the activity and not enough on the meaning of the reading material. In other instances, it has been found that the reading material proved to be uninteresting to the adult pupils. They came to class voluntarily because they wanted to learn to read; and they stopped coming just as easily when they felt they were wasting their time. Sometimes the reading material which they were forced to use became too difficult too soon; it presented too great a challenge, and served only to discourage the people and to make them distrust their own ability to learn. In other cases, there was lack of provision in the literacy training programme for the development of specific skills. Little chance was afforded the learners to understand that reading is a tool which may be used to help them get information quickly, or to help them to learn how to do the things they want and need to do.

So it appears that, in order to make literacy campaigns worth while, we must somehow ensure that the keen motivation which the adults had for learning to read shall be maintained at a high level. If this is done, they will continue to come to the literacy classes until such time as they have mastered the skill which will enable them to read whatever they wish in their everyday undertakings. This implies that there must be available a plentiful supply of easy-to-read material to supplement and to follow the basic textbooks. For it has been found over and over again that the best literacy campaign must fail if there is no literature beyond the primer.

Accordingly, it is necessary to have, for teaching purposes, a series of reading texts which follow one another with a steady gradation of difficulty. Every opportunity must be presented for the adults to see clearly that they are actually making progress toward their goals; and when they see that they are making progress, they will gain confidence. This is the beginning of a wholesome cycle which it is the teacher's responsibility to keep in motion; success brings confidence; confidence brings success.

It is logical to accept, in principle, the idea that, in teaching reading effectively, graded materials must be used with adults as with children. But also, in fact, there

is a logical reason why there are few, if any, textbooks of this sort available at present in most countries. It is simply because they are somewhat difficult to develop—difficult because such books must manage to put into simple terms the things which people can find interesting. As we have implied above, this must be done in order that the motives which adults have for learning may be sustained.

ESTIMATING READING LEVEL

In many parts of the world those who are of necessity writing such textbooks are demanding: How can I tell when my material is primer level, first reader level, second reader level, and so on? In a discussion of this matter, Dr. Irving Lorge¹ of the United States tells us that research in readability originated in the desire to grade textbooks and other materials for use in the elementary grades. Subsequently, the research activities were extended not only to demonstrate the lack of adequate reading materials for adults, but also to suggest how more adequate materials might be prepared. The research in readability became a search for the relationship between structural elements of the text and its success with large groups of readers.

The variables used to predict readability are aspects of the text—for example, vocabulary load, sentence structure and style, and interest. One or more of the measures of vocabulary load is used as a predictor in every study of readability. Essentially, the prediction of readability requires calculation by means of an empirical formula relating specific variables of readability to the criterion for readability—namely, the measure of success of the text with a large number of readers.

Gray and Leary, after considering more than forty different predictors, empirically chose five variables to predict readability: the number of different words, the percentage of uncommon words, the relative number of personal pronouns, the relative number of prepositional phrases, and the average sentence length. Gray and Leary's predicted readability score was a number which was transmuted into a letter representing degrees of difficulty from A (very easy) to E (very difficult). Lorge, basing his work on that of Gray and Leary, tried to obtain a prediction in terms of grade level of reading.

The Lorge formula, therefore, is a means of judging the relative difficulty or readability of either read or spoken passages. Readability is based upon the comprehension of passages by school children. Comprehension is judged by the correctness and completeness of responses to questions about a passage. Such questions usually deal with specific details, general import, appreciation, knowledge of vocabulary, and understanding of concepts.

It is obvious that the purpose of the reader in reading, and the kinds of questions asked in estimating reading comprehension, will greatly influence the estimate of reading difficulty. Since the Lorge formula is based on a criterion derived from responses to questions of the five types listed above, it tends to overestimate the difficulty of passages to be read primarily for appreciation or for general import, and to underestimate the difficulty of passages to be read primarily for specific details or for following directions. Nevertheless, the formula provides an overall estimate which should be useful in grading reading materials, although not be considered definitive or used blindly.

The Lorge formula, in addition to its use in estimating the reading difficulty of passages for children, may be used to advantage in estimating the difficulty of silent and oral passages for adults. It yields a readability index which places materials in relative order; that is, a reading passage with an index of 5.2 is less difficult than a reading passage with an index of 7.1, etc. Moreover, the suitability of texts for adults can be interpreted in terms of the reading grade scores of adults on acceptable reading

¹ Irving Lorge. 'Predicting Readability', *Teachers' College Record*, Vol. 45, No. 6, pp. 404-19, March 1944.

texts. And the Lorge readability index, in addition to its utility in grading text materials, may also be used in passage simplification. The way in which work sheets may be prepared to assist in calculating the readability index of a selected passage is shown below.

Lorge Formula for Estimating Grade Placement of Reading Materials

Title of article	Edition
Name of author	Date of publication
Location of sample in text.....	

Basic Data

- 1. Number of words in the sample
- 2. Number of sentences in the sample
- 3. Number of prepositional phrases
- 4. Number of hard words

Computation

5. Average sentence length (divide 1 by 2)	Multiply by 0.07=
6. Ratio of prepositional phrases (divide 3 by 1).....	Multiply by 13.01=
7. Ratio of hard words (divide 4 by 1)	Multiply by 10.73=
	Add Constant (C)= 1.6126
	Readability Index=

Notes

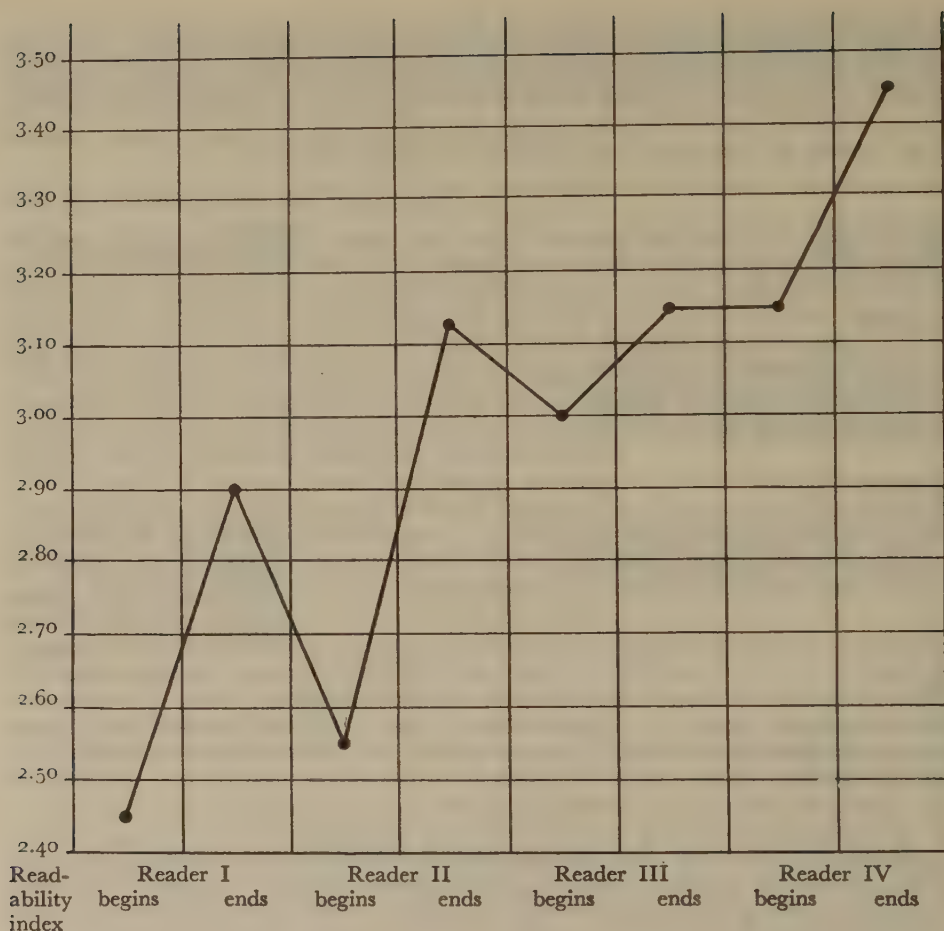
Name of analyst	Date of analysis
Name of computer	Date of computing
Name of checker	

The Lorge formula was used as an objective means of estimating the grade placement of the textbooks prepared by the U.S. Literacy Education Project. According to this formula, the range of the readability index of Reader I extends from a low point of 2.46 at the beginning of the book to a high point of 2.9 at the end. This very gradual, but steady, progression serves to give the learners the kind of confidence they need in the initial stages. Reader II begins at a low point of 2.55 and ranges to a high point of 3.13. The advantage of this retrogression at the beginning of the second book is that it contributes to a sense of mastery on the part of the learners.

Reader III begins at a proportionately higher level, 3.0, and increases in difficulty only slightly, to a high point of 3.14. This indicates that the readability level is high enough to challenge the learners, yet low enough to contribute to that sense of mastery so necessary to their steady progress. Reader IV maintains the 'plateau' which begins at the end of the previous book. By the time they have reached this stage, the new literates are sufficiently self-confident to continue to progress in skill without needing so much to be reinforced by having the book begin below their minimum level of performance. A graphic representation¹ of the readability profile of this series of textbooks is shown on page 105.

The Lorge readability formula was also used recently as an objective means of estimating the gradation of the Jamaica series of readers for adults. As shown on the graph on page 106, according to this formula the range of Book I extends from a low point of 2.1 at the beginning of the book to a high point of 2.3 at the end. Book II begins with a low point of 2.5 and ranges to a high point of 2.9. Book III begins at 2.9, rises to 3.1 in the

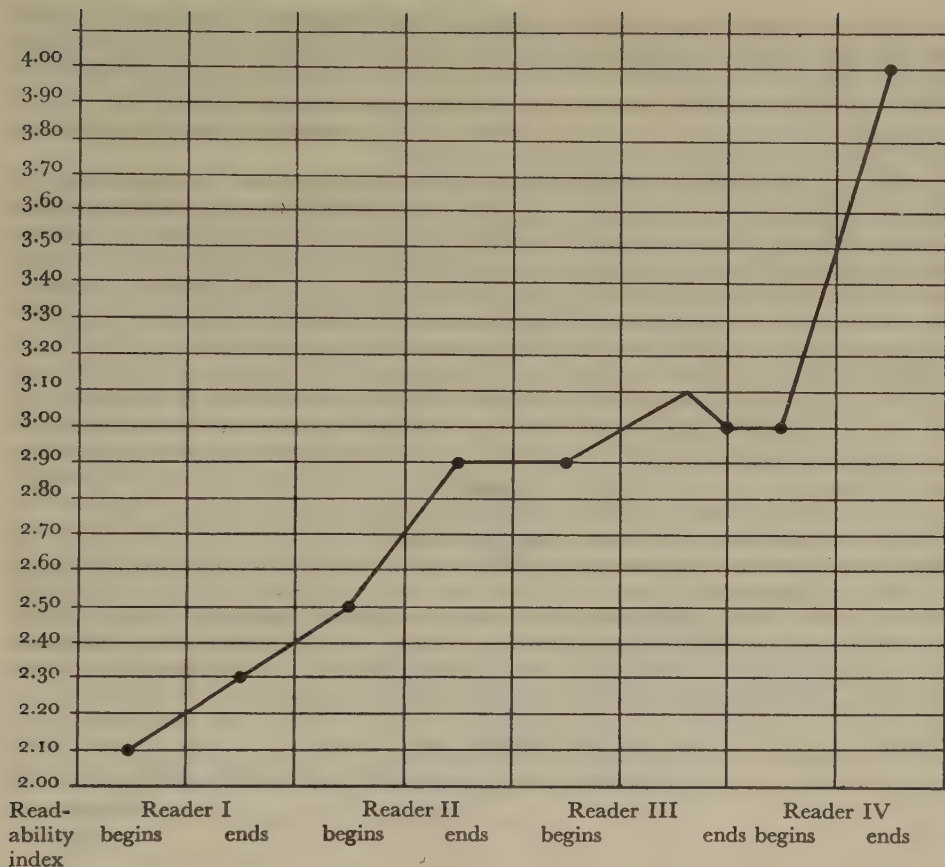
¹ Comparative difficulty of selected passages from the four *Home and Family Life* readers.



middle of the book, and ends at a 3.0 level. In this way, Book III forms a plateau which serves to contribute to the growing sense of mastery on the part of the learners. Book IV begins at this 3.0 plateau and steadily increases in complexity until it ends at a high point of 4.0. It has been demonstrated in Jamaica, as in the United States, that this is the minimum level of reading competence necessary to ensure the continued performance which is necessary to make the newly acquired skill enjoyable and functional.

In connexion with the preparation of the Jamaican textbooks, it was clearly understood that since the Lorge formula was based upon the comprehension of passages by American school children, its value in predicting the readability of material for adults—even American adults—is necessarily limited. Its effectiveness with non-American—albeit English-speaking—adults of another region would naturally be still more restricted. This was especially true in the case of Jamaica, where the use of a distinct vernacular is universal among the peasants. However, the fact still remains that, in the absence of a better criterion, the Lorge formula did provide at least a rough indication of the relative difficulty of the reading passages.

Although formulae for estimating readability have not yet been developed in most languages, the general principles upon which the existing formulae were based are



undoubtedly universal. For ease or difficulty in reading are certainly influenced in greater or lesser degree, in all languages, by the variables of vocabulary load, sentence structure, style, and interest. Many of those who are engaged in writing textbooks must act upon this premise, pending the time when there will be available, in many more countries, formulae for the calculation of relative levels of readability for specific purposes. With such a background of understanding as a point of departure, it is possible to gauge informally, in any given language, the progressive difficulty of written matter.

CONTROLLING THE VOCABULARY

Obviously, it is relatively easy to master the skill of expressing ideas in short, direct sentences. The question of controlling the vocabulary load presents a different kind of problem. No one can truthfully say that any particular list of words is the 'right' basic vocabulary for adult learners in any language. In most countries specialists differ widely not only as to what should constitute a basic vocabulary, but also concerning the way in which the words to be included should be selected.

Furthermore, from the point of view of the interest factor, the specialists are also arriving at new conclusions concerning the extent to which the vocabulary for adult beginners in reading should be restricted. It was formerly held that the first reading texts should present an absolute minimum of new words, and that the frequent repe-

tition of these would ensure learning. It is now understood that reading is a unified process, and that mere repetition alone is not enough to ensure that a word has been learned. There are many other factors involved, as for example the position of the word within the sentence; the concept or basic idea behind the word; the way in which these ideas are developed; the vividness of the presentation; and the degree to which the ideas are of interest to the adult learners.

Concerning the matter of vocabulary, those who are involved in programmes of literacy training may well decide for themselves how best to develop basic word lists for their own groups. In doing this, they will first need to analyse the people's common environment, and the common speech resulting from it. From this analysis, it will be possible to determine what words men and women need to express themselves, according to the demands made on them by their environment. Finally, studies must be made of the words which the learners need to express their growing interests.

One easy way to begin to gauge levels of readability is to make a selection of from 2,000 to 2,500 words chosen on this basis and listed alphabetically in groups of 500. The 500 words which are judged to be most commonly used should head the list. A basic vocabulary so developed becomes both functional and developmental in speaking and reading. The words which are needed over and over again are the ones which, eventually, may be listed as being the 'right' basic vocabulary for these people.

This way of working is, of course, extremely subjective and arbitrary in its beginning stages. None the less, it can prove to be of great value, and given more time for detailed research and experimentation, it can later be used as the basis for a more objective determination. Certain simple techniques may be adopted to make the grading process easy. The working table shown below is an example. As the writing of the textbooks proceeds, data may be recorded at the successive stages of development and the material may be simplified or otherwise modified, as required.

Table for Analysis of Reading Difficulty of Basic Literacy Texts

<i>Data</i>	<i>Book</i>			<i>Total</i>	<i>Suggested criteria</i>
	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>		
Number of pages					150
New words—basic					300
New words—special					20-50
Total vocabulary					350
Cumulative vocabulary					5,000 (approx.)
Average new words per page					2
Average word repetition					15-50
Average length of sentences					8-10 words

The writer may begin by developing a series of brief story-type episodes expressed very simply in the language of the people. To describe this type of material designed to teach adults to read, Dr. Gray has recently made a brief but adequate statement:

"These materials usually comprise one or more primers. Some of the more recently published materials for early reading lessons are not called primers, but take the form of two, three, or four booklets that serve the same purpose as a primer. In whatever form the basic materials are published, they should comprise a minimum of 150 pages, which introduce approximately 300 words. This is the equivalent of two words per page. The vocabulary should be restricted to the most frequently used words in the language, with the exception of a few special words required by the context. Each word should be repeated from fifteen to fifty or more times in the teaching material to ensure reasonable mastery of them. The early lessons should be four pages in length, and should gradually increase to eight. The content should relate to things and

activities that are of genuine interest to adults. The ideas presented should form an interesting sequence that will hold the reader's attention and aid in the grasp of meaning.¹

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

After the materials have been written and scaled to conform with the above criteria, there are other ways of informally appraising the progression of difficulty and the probable effectiveness in use. One of these is to check with other materials of the desired level of readability. Another is to get the opinions of good teachers of adult beginners or of those who are experts in the methods and techniques of teaching adults the literacy skills. The material may also be pre-tested—tried out on a group of adults who are attending literacy training classes. Do the pictures and the format lead them on? Do they consider the text at their own reading level but not too childish? Can they read it with relative ease and yet grow in reading skill as they progress? Do they ask for more of the same kind of thing? Are they really interested?

Whatever criteria may be used in these informal attempts to gauge levels of readability, there are some fallacies which must be avoided. In the first place, it must be remembered that evaluation of difficulty must go beyond the mere adherence to any of the established criteria. For example, it is always necessary to consider the logic of the material. It is true that in order to ensure that the passages are easy to read, there must be relatively few different words used, and these words should present few problems of structure—although there is nothing to be gained from sacrificing a concept of interest to the learner when it would be relatively easy for him to master the new words or phrases involved. And last—but by no means least—writers must remember that the aesthetic aspects—grace, felicity, and the format of the material—are always of immeasurable importance. Writers must master the *art* as well as the techniques of developing textbooks for literacy training, and thus help people to make reading a habit which they enjoy enough to be able to use constantly.

¹ William S. Gray. *Preliminary Survey on Methods of Teaching Reading and Writing*, Unesco, 1953.

THE POTENTIALITIES OF DISNEY HEALTH FILMS IN MASS EDUCATION IN THE GOLD COAST

W. L. SHIRER AND A. K. PICKERING

The article below was submitted as a paper to the Seminar on the Use of Visual Aids in Fundamental Education organized by Unesco at Messina, Sicily, September 1953 (see Vol. VI, No. 1, January 1954, p. 41). While the experiments and research were limited, for good reasons, to two particular films, we feel that the important aspects of this work for other educators are not the judgments formed about the films but the methods employed in judging audience reactions, comprehension and the amount learned, as well as the guidance which the accuracy of these judgments can give in determining the best programme use of such visual aids. We are aware that other workers have been conducting similar experiments and research and we invite them to send us similar accounts of their experiences.

This article contains the results of certain experiments carried out to decide firstly, whether these films have a practical application in mass education in the Gold Coast and secondly, if so, to find out how best they can be used. Two widely separate areas were chosen for the experiments: the coast of the Western Province and the Northern Territories. It would be difficult to find a greater contrast of social environment and linguistic affiliation in the Gold Coast.

The first two films which became available were 'Hookworm' and 'The Way Disease Travels'. These, as it turned out, were a happy choice inasmuch as one contained a very large amount of Disney fantasy—though perhaps not as much as that on mosquitoes where the seven dwarfs magically make their appearance and conduct a highly dramatic 'war' against 'Winged Scourge'—and the other is a relatively straightforward and unvarnished story.

METHOD OF EXPERIMENT EMPLOYED IN BOTH AREAS

The films were shown to three different groups of people with a different form of presentation each time. Questions were then asked which were designed to test the understanding not only of the film's teaching but also of the screen technique used.

The Examinees

1. In the Western Province: (a) Men and women in training for the post of mass education assistant. The minimum education requirement for this post is a primary school leaving certificate. (b) Illiterates from Axim who have recently begun literacy classes in the rural training centre at Axim. (c) Illiterates from Tereku Bokazo, a small isolated village approximately 14 miles from Axim.
2. In the Northern Territories: (a) Mass education assistants in training drawn from the north-west corner of the Gold Coast. (b) Men and women who gained their literacy certificates recently, drawn from a number of Dagomba villages over a wide area, who are attending a course at the rural training centre at Tamale.

The Examiners

These comprised five senior and eight junior officers all employed on community development in the field. They discussed the questions and considered possible answers

before the experiment and co-ordinated their results in a discussion afterwards. Every effort was made to ensure an even standard of marking.

The Conditions of the Examinations

The utmost care was taken to ensure that answers given were entirely individual. Each examinee was questioned separately. There was no opportunity for discussion either by the members of the same group or by any two groups after seeing the film and before examination. Mass education assistants trained as invigilators carried out their duties carefully under supervision. Suitable accommodation was found in all cases, with an adequate number of rooms which enabled these precautions to be observed. The films were shown only to those engaged in the experiment, members of the public being excluded. It should be mentioned that the participants in the experiments were not at all adverse to being shepherded about, and showed a remarkable degree of patience and willingness to co-operate.

The Examinations

After the showing of each film, and a discussion, 12 questions were chosen, designed to discover how far the examinees had followed the action and the story of the film as well as its message. The questioning was done in such a way as to place a premium on understanding and not on mere memory. The instructor would reconstruct the circumstances of the action about which he wished to ask. 'You remember the shop-keeper who had a bad cough?' If the reply were negative there followed a little description of the incidents leading up to the scene, showing its place in the film and thus jogging the memory until the scene was recalled to mind. It was hardly ever necessary for the instructor to give up because the person interviewed simply could not remember, although more than once towards the end of the questioning in Bokazo and Tamale was heard the plaintive cry 'there is too much to remember'. It might also be mentioned that patience and good humour were shown by the instructors too! The examination of the mass education assistants was conducted in English, and of the others in the vernaculars.

Since all the examinees in the Northern Territories were attending courses at the rural training centre, Mr. Shirer arranged a written examination on the day following the showing of the film and the verbal examination. The same questions were used. The mass education assistants in training wrote in English and the new-literates in the vernacular. It is interesting to note that there was no difference in comprehension between the two groups.

THE EXPERIMENTS

As Mr. Shirer's time with Mr. Pickering was limited owing to the calls of duty elsewhere, it was used in carrying out a trial experiment in Axim in order to determine the most sensible pattern for subsequent experiments to be carried out in the Western Province by Mr. Pickering and in the Northern Territories by Mr. Shirer. It was essential for purposes of comparison that the same method of usage of the films should be closely followed in both areas. The results obtained were remarkably similar and in order to curtail the length of this report, it was decided to present only the Western Province results in detail and to mention only particular points of interest or contrast from the Northern Territories experiments. The recommendations for the use of these films which end this article were drawn up as result of the findings in both areas.

Experiment One: a Trial Experiment on 'Hookworm' in Axim

This was shown first to a mixed audience of mass education assistants and illiterates



in a way usual with Information Services Films in the Gold Coast—that is, a vernacular commentary superimposed on the sound track. Secondly, it was shown to another similar group, only with an introduction which described the film beforehand, and thirdly, to a group of illiterates with vernacular commentary alone and no sound track. The same 12 questions (see Appendix II) were then asked of each.

Observations. The tabulated results are as follows:

	<i>Commentary and sound track</i>	<i>Introduction, commentary and sound track</i>	<i>Commentary and no sound track</i>
Mass education assistants:			
Understood	78	112	
Partially understood	12	15	
Misunderstood	42	5	
Illiterates:			
Understood	57	105	85
Partially understood	24	16	23
Misunderstood	51	13	24

These figures in themselves only tell part of the story. Each questioner discovered a number of interesting and often amusing misconceptions about the action of the film itself. For instance in 'Hookworm' a dramatic emphasis is given at the start by contrasting a happy thriving homestead with the same house after its inmates have been visited by hookworm. In the second scene one sees the home with the broken roof in a state of dilapidation with 'Careless Charlie', his wife and children, reclining in tired apathetic attitudes, indifferent to work or pleasure. The sound track, in this instance translated almost simultaneously in the vernacular, insists that 'Charlie' and his family have been robbed; 'thieves have entered the lives of these people!' It then explains that the thieves have not stolen goods but health and that they are in fact hookworms. A minute or so later Charlie is seen at the top of a tree, conveyed there by no human agency. Those who have followed the film realized that this is a little Disney 'magic' expressing Charlie's revulsion at the frightening appearance of the hookworm he had just been shown. On being questioned afterwards, however, very few of the audience had seen the point, even with the commentary, and some were convinced that Charlie in the tree was escaping from the robbers who had burgled his house. Such is the power of suggestion that one mass education assistant assured Mr. Shirer that he had 'seen' the

thieves running away from the house! One examinee declared that Charlie let his house fall into disrepair because he wanted a new one. Another stated with some conviction that the thieves had broken into the house in order to rob Charlie. It was most difficult for many to associate the dilapidated homestead with Charlie's loss of energy due to hookworm infection. Similarly when, at the end of the film, Charlie drank the doctor's medicine and the evil monsters were shown collapsing one by one with that twanging noise so beloved of children, many thought that the action was taking place in a stream or a river of some kind. Most, however, when questioned, only worked it out for themselves after receiving helpful hints that the medicine was operating in Charlie's stomach. These are only a few examples of the confusion which Disney screen technique caused with these unsophisticated audiences. These gaps must be effectively bridged in the vernacular commentary and in the discussion which should follow the showing of the film.

Conclusions. (a) There is very little doubt that the film has a teaching value. Even those in group one understood much of the film's teaching. (b) The introduction given prior to showing the film to the second group certainly proved a great help to understanding. (c) The fact that group three, even without the introduction but also without the sound track, produced results more comparable to group two than group one, helped to confirm the belief we had already formed that the music and other sound effects of the sound track, plus a superimposed vernacular commentary, were confusing and impeded understanding. This was subsequently borne out by groups one and two themselves when they saw the second film without the sound effects. The same applied to the showing in the Northern Territories. (d) The fact that the mass education assistants' results were only slightly better than those of the illiterates indicated that the film's teaching value is not confined to those who have been through school. Mass education assistants have all attended school for a period of say six or seven years and obtained their Primary School Leaving Certificates.

Note. This was a trial experiment to assist us in designing further experiments which would help us to find the best method of use for the film. Mr. Shirer did, in fact, use mass education assistants in Tamale for the first of his experiments on 'Hookworm'



Mr. Shirer discussing educational problems with a Gold Coast chief.

with almost identical results. There, if anything, the difference between the 'new literates' and the mass education assistants was even less marked. As a result of it three changes were made: firstly, mass education assistants were not used again and the experiments were confined to illiterates; secondly, the system of summing up the film's teaching afterwards in a discussion group was introduced; thirdly, for all subsequent experiments the sound track was not used and a vernacular commentary which was already much more than the translation of the English commentary was suitably adjusted. The commentator took great care to prevent any illusion on the part of the audience about what the action of the film was intended to convey. For example, the instructor would say: 'This thing which looks like an elephant's trunk is really the hookworm made many many times larger by the camera than it really is, and there it is plunging its teeth into the walls of Charlie's stomach so that it can suck in his blood.' This part of the commentary was based directly on the answers to question seven on the examination paper which were often 'a wild animal' or the 'trunk of an elephant'. In the Northern Territories where wild animals are commoner, leopards and lions were added to the list.

The figures are obtained by adding up the totals in each vertical column of the question papers for each group. There were 15 people questioned in each case throughout the experiment.

Experiment Two

The film 'The Way Disease Travels' was shown to the same total audience but with the order of the groups reversed. In this experiment the first group had a commentary in the vernacular; the second, the same but preceded by a 10-minute introduction to the film telling the group what it was about and mentioning the lessons the film taught. The third group, in addition to the commentary and the introduction, after the showing had a discussion on the film conducted by a senior officer. Again each group answered 12 questions as before. On this occasion three questions more comprehensive than the rest were put at the end of the paper deliberately. Question 12 actually goes beyond the teaching of the film in so far as the film, though it shows four different methods by which diseases travel, does not mention the name of any disease.

Observations. The tabulated results of the questions are as follows:

	<i>Vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction and vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction, vernacular commentary and discussion</i>
Understood	122	141	166
Partially understood	34	23	10
Misunderstood	24	16	2
When questions 9, 10 and 11 are considered in isolation from the rest of the paper the results obtained are:			
Understood	9	25	33
Partially understood	21	14	9
Misunderstood	15	6	—

There were very few amusing misconceptions which arose from the questioning. Generally the answers revealed a high level of understanding and, as has already been mentioned, there is not the graphic imagery of 'Hookworm' in this film to excite

and confuse. The films were, however, shown on consecutive days and all the questioners had a few instances of confusion between the two. For example one person, asked why he should cover his mouth when coughing, replied that if he had hookworm he infected the stomach of another person who inhaled the air he breathed out (in the second film the way diseases of the lung travel is shown). It was noticeable that none of these answers came from the third group.

Note. No valid deductions can be made from comparing the statistics of these two experiments.

There can obviously be no guarantee about the equality of level of intelligence between each group. All that can be said of the examinees in the western area is that all were illiterate and adult residents of Axim, some farmers, some housewives, some petty traders in the street or the market and a few without occupation. In the north the people chosen fall into the same category except that they were representative of a number of different villages.

It is significant that the group which obtained the poorest result on the first set of questions were easily the best with the second.

Experiment Three (Bokazo)

It was realized at this stage in the Western Province experiments that while those in the Northern Territories were using village people as examinees, people in Axim were perhaps not ideal for finding out *rural* audience reaction. Axim is a town of nearly 4,000 with a school-going population of nearly 400 and a large hospital. Accordingly the next experiments were conducted in Tereku Bokazo, a village of only 60 compound houses and very isolated, the river Ankobra having to be crossed by ferry to reach it. There the people who spoke English or had been to hospital at any time were given a private showing but excluded from the experiment. 'The Way Disease Travels' seemed to be a logical predecessor to 'Hookworm' inasmuch as it dealt with four ways of communicating infection, of which hookworm was an example. Accordingly in Bokazo the order of films was reversed and 'Hookworm' shown second. Owing to pressure of other commitments both films had to be shown the same day. A convenient building was obtained and the films projected through a doorway into a largish room. A tarpaulin had been obtained in advance and though there was incessant rain we were able to shield the projector and operator and the experiments were successfully completed. The people of Bokazo were most patient throughout a long day and were thoroughly co-operative. The method of the experiment was exactly the same as that of the second one in Axim.

Observations. The tabulated results are as follows:

	<i>Vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction and vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction, vernacular commentary and discussion</i>
Understood	110	135	152
Partially understood	35	30	22
Misunderstood	35	15	6

When questions 9, 10 and 11 are considered in isolation from the rest of the paper the results obtained are:

Understood	2	11	26
Partially understood	25	25	17
Misunderstood	11	9	2

In the answers there are a number of interesting observations which will be considered later, but there is no doubt that the general level of understanding was again high. It would have been quite unfair to compare the statistical results of the first two experiments; the questions on one were a good deal more searching than those on the other, but it is fair to compare the results in Bokazo of 'The Way Disease Travels' separately with those of Axim. Nothing was changed except the order of films.

Experiment Four

'Hookworm' was then shown in the same way, only with the groups reversed. The tabulated results are as follows:

	<i>Vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction and vernacular commentary</i>	<i>Introduction, vernacular commentary and discussion</i>
Understood	117	127	138
Partially understood	24	20	32
Misunderstood	39	33	20

Once again instructors kept careful note of any interesting observations made by the people they questioned and these were discussed fully later on in Axim. It became clear to us that, though patient, the groups were becoming tired and confused. Groups one and two produced some answers which showed confusion in their minds between the two films and group one of the first film which had become group three of the second was frankly disappointing—it had had a long wait in an uncomfortable room in wet weather and its members tended to lose interest. The discussion they had with the instructor was lifeless by comparison with that of the first discussion group.

LIMITATIONS OF THE EXPERIMENT

The limitations of experiments of this nature carried out in a necessarily improvised fashion are obvious. It is quite clear that much more detailed experiment must be carried out before the statistics obtained can stand alone. Ideally there should be further tests after a duration of one week, one month, six months from the date of the experiment, in order to find out how much of the knowledge imparted is still understood. There are obvious practical difficulties however here. No two of the Disney films present quite the same problems and each one ought to be considered separately. Again, even though the results obtained in the coastal area and the Northern Territories are remarkably similar, it is dangerous to generalize for the whole of the Gold Coast.

BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH THE FILMS WERE SHOWN

It should be mentioned at this stage that one important factor, namely assessing the degree of knowledge before the films were shown at all, was not neglected. In our opinion, based on our own experience, this was never necessary but the results of the test did in fact add considerably to our knowledge of native beliefs about medicine, and a group of people questioned about 'Hookworm' in Axim, all of whom had attended hospital from time to time, were unanimous in telling us that 'worms' were in the body at birth, that indeed they had a function to perform in so far as they assisted digestion by breaking up the food. 'Bad' worms however consumed the food in the stomach and

derived nourishment from it, thereby fattening at the expense of its unlucky human possessor. This idea of a worm needing blood for existence was utterly strange to them. Knowledge of worms was limited to those which were visible. Hookworm, for example, did not exist. Not one of the departmental staff of 50 local men and women could provide a vernacular expression for 'hookworm'. Wide disbelief was expressed when we said that hookworm enters the body through the feet. These results were a good deal more spectacular in Tereku Bokazo yet it was not difficult in any instance we came across to trace the origin of the belief.

Customs undoubtedly still play a very important part in some beliefs. There is a widespread fear of some diseases such as leprosy and tuberculosis, especially in those areas which are within reach of the hospital. Yet in some villages Akan custom still militates against the principle of isolation. A widely observed rule is that an invalid at the time of his death should never be horizontal. He should be propped up from behind by the arms of his nearest relative. Thus towards the end he is never left alone. An old man at Bokazo grew quite indignant at the teaching of 'The Way Disease Travels' that the boy with the skin disease and the man with the cough should be isolated and not visited by any member of the family except the one who nursed him.

DISADVANTAGES OF THE FILMS

The most peculiar single factor emerging from the experiments was the complete inability of the films to raise a laugh from unsophisticated African audiences, either in the Western Province or the Northern Territories. The type of humour simply did not appeal. The film most appreciated was that which told a human story simply and straightforwardly. Whatever can be said about the educational value, the entertainment value is low. There was considerable serious interest shown but relatively little enthusiasm. There is some reason to believe however that familiarity with Disney technique may change this—our own mass education assistants were considerably more entertained the third time they saw 'Hookworm'. Again this lack of acquaintance with the highly developed screen method produces curious misconceptions. 'Suggestive' actions were very often misunderstood. The significance of the man pulling on his trousers on leaving the corn was often missed and had to be explained. Again, it was not always clear in the minds of the examinees that Charlie's family was infected with hookworm by walking through the cornfield where Charlie had previously eased himself. Other examples have been given elsewhere. There is also a danger of oversimplification. Quite frequently the question: 'Was the river a dangerous water supply?' brought forth the answer: 'only when Kweku is relieving himself further *upstream*'. Again the dramatic emphasis on one scene produces so vivid an impression that the significance of what follows is sometimes obscured. After the film 'Hookworm', quite often we discovered that stages in the cycle of infection had been invented. Often, because the vivid parts were remembered to the exclusion of those more soberly presented, very erroneous ideas were the result.

One surprising and happy fact emerged however quite clearly, namely that even to the mind untutored in screen fantasy the humorous 'magic' of Disney did not destroy belief in the teaching. Many people said that, while they knew that Charlie's building of the latrine was pure 'magic', they believed that hookworms do bite the stomach walls, as shown. There was very little suggestion that the teaching of the film was not authentic, even though a little time was necessary sometimes for incredulity to be overcome. One exception to this was a mass education assistant who said two days after seeing 'The Way Disease Travels': 'The film fooled us. In it we saw germs coming from the mouth of the man who coughed and going into the chest of somebody else. But of course in daylight you cannot see them, the film just invented them and they do not really exist.'

Despite such observations, we believe that these films have an unequalled value in teaching simple lessons on health. There can be little doubt that in relation to the background previously described above they can, if properly used, be of great practical use in breaking down false beliefs and disseminating true ones. It is difficult to conceive of any other way in which curious ideas, for example on hookworm, can be dispelled. The film does provide the enormous bridge between the seen and the unseen which no amount of discussion can provide without great difficulty. The human story is a big factor in encouraging credence. By comparison, the film strip on hookworm, good though it is, is cold and unconvincing. From our observations of audience reactions to these two films, we believe that all the films have in varying degree a great practical value in the rural areas of the Gold Coast—that is, if ‘properly used’—and it is our purpose now to make certain recommendations.

1. Where it is possible to show a number of the films a sequence of presentation should be observed. ‘How Disease Travels’ is an excellent introductory film, and a thorough grounding in the four passages of infection described can provide an excellent background to the films which deal with one of them specifically.
2. By this we mean that the cinema should not show any other kind of film the same evening. By all means include community singing, village drama, or literacy teaching—but no other film. The films should always be shown one at a time. The minimum interval between different films should be two weeks.
3. The medical authorities should advise which films are applicable in each area. Some films are particularly suitable for being used as the keystone of a particular health ‘campaign’.
4. They should be shown to small audiences in each area or village first. If the audiences are chosen from the local council and village committee members, chiefs and elders, leading citizens, tradesmen, leaders of the churches and schools, a small body of informed opinion can be created which would be of much greater value than a large number of people who only partially understand the film’s teaching.
5. Whatever film is used, a vernacular commentary should be thoroughly worked out and strictly adhered to, which will (a) make sure that the action of the film is thoroughly understood; (b) transpose the whole story into the African scene by giving local names to rivers and forests and people; (c) lay special emphasis upon those points which are particularly difficult for the African audience to believe. (Note: A mere translation of the English sound track would be totally inadequate and possibly harmful.)
6. The introduction should wherever possible include the passing round of a magnifying glass or microscope, to sow conviction of its power to reveal things invisible to the naked eye. We did in fact take a microscope to Bokazo and showed blood slides of their own blood to some people. Intense interest and some disbelief was aroused.
7. After the introduction, the film should be shown with the commentator speaking, with or without the microphone as necessary. There should then be a discussion which recapitulates the action of the film and draws out the lessons. In these discussions it will very often be necessary to go beyond the film’s teaching. For example in ‘The Way Disease Travels’ the mother of the boy with the skin disease is shown washing the boy’s dishes and keeping them separate from the rest of the family’s—the fact that hot water should be used is not emphasized nor is it remarked that the other dishes should not be washed in the same water. We believe the discussion group is most essential. In Axim and Bokazo and the Northern Territories individual people volunteered stories of their own or somebody else’s experience which bore out some part of the film’s teaching. This kind of spontaneous contribution had a great effect upon the rest of the group. We are quite confident that with a ‘method paper’ and a little practice in its use, most mass education assistants would be qualified

to conduct such a discussion capably. A specimen discussion method paper on 'The Way Disease Travels' is given as Appendix I of this article.

8. The film should be shown again to the same audience after an interval and after the commentator has recapitulated the main points of the discussion. This time there need be no set pattern for the discussion but the instructor must still get the audience to sum up the film's teaching.
9. Finally we recommend that where women's work in mass education has got 'under way' preference in the use of films be given to women, and that as early as is possible opinions be invited from other regions about the relative merits of the films and further comments on the method of their usage.

APPENDIX I

SPECIMEN METHOD PAPER FOR CONDUCTING DISCUSSION ON THE WAY DISEASE TRAVELS

The leader asks how many methods of passing infection the group saw. If there is doubt he leaves the question open and begins reconstructing the action of the film.

Water-borne

1. He refers the group to the beginning of the picture asking such questions as: 'What was Kweku doing in the cornfields?' 'What happened when the rains came?' (he will get the answer that the faeces were washed into the river). 'Was Kwaku a sick man?' (whatever answer he gets he must make sure that the group's minds are made clear). 'What happened further down the river?' (water drawn by villagers). 'Did you see the man who drank?' 'Could he get the disease?' 'How was the disease carried?'
2. The leader gives none of the answers to these questions unless he is obliged to. In our experiments in both areas we never found it necessary. Having extracted the final answer 'water-borne' from his group the leader writes it on the blackboard and describes a circle underneath, showing the passage of infection from point to point, i.e. infected man-faeces in the open—rain to river—river water drawn and drunk—another person acquires disease.
3. He then postulates a question to the group 'How can this circle be broken?' By the same method he elicits the answers and the reason for them: (a) by building latrines; (b) by boiling and filtering water.

Flies

He has now got the group to describe one way in which disease travels. He goes on to the second, and in similar fashion to '1' above reaches the discovery that some diseases are fly-borne and draws a second circle on the blackboard: diseased man, faeces, flies settling, flies to food, food consumed. Again he asks how the circle can be broken and extracts the answers: (a) latrines; (b) covering food.

Infection from Breath

Again by questioning the group on what they saw the leader draws up a third circle. This time a man with lung disease coughs in the open—sleeps in the same room as family—microbes breathed out by him breathed in by others. Here the pattern is a trifle more complex. He must ask the question: 'Would you drink out of this man's cup?'

Having got the required answer and the reasons for it he passes on to the vital question: 'How is the disease checked?' and makes three main points: (a) by day: coughing should always be through a handkerchief or at least with the hand covering the mouth; (b) by night: the person infected in this way must always be in a separate room as near the window as possible; (c) he should have his own implements for eating and drinking washed ('in cold or in hot water') immediately after use and not used by other people.

Skin Diseases and Human Contact

The fourth circle to be drawn is that of the infected youth ('What sort of disease?')—shakes hands (Would you?)—uses implements for eating and drinking—infection passed to others. This time the circle is broken by: (a) isolation from all except the one person nursing him; (b) the same usage of implements as in (c) above (ask the question 'Would you wash the family's dishes in the water already used for the patient's?').

Summary. The group leader must then rub his circles off the blackboard and get the group themselves to reconstruct them, eliciting his answers this time from those who have as yet volunteered little.

Note. (a) When mass education assistants were left to work out their own method of organizing discussion on this film the thing most lacking was an order of priority in the ways of checking the passage of infection, for example covering food in 'fly-borne' diseases came before digging latrines and the latter was often preceded by boiling water in 'water-borne' diseases. (b) Group members must always be encouraged where practicable to advance experiences of their own or of others. (c) If the group is not responsive the leader should introduce more graphic methods of appeal. He may suddenly for example pull a coin from his pocket and offer it to a member of the group saying 'I have a skin disease: do you want this?' It would be a most useful and instructive exercise for mass education assistants to think up examples of this nature on each of the four methods of passing infection, and allow them whilst training to practice on each other.

APPENDIX II

	<i>Under- stood</i>	<i>Partially</i>	<i>Mis- under- stood</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>No. in group</i>
<i>'Hookworm' questions</i>					
1. Why is a latrine necessary?					
2. Why was the hole in the top covered by a block of wood?					
3. Why was a house built over the pit?					
4. Why was the man called careless?					
5. What did he lose?					
6. Who were the thieves?					
7. What was the thing with the big mouth and teeth?					
8. What does it need to live?					
9. What disease?					
10. The doctor gave medicine—why?					
11. Why did the man put on shoes?					
12. Why was it good to have the latrine far from the house?					

'The Way Disease Travels' questions

1. What did Kweku do?
2. What happened when the rain came?
3. Do you think faeces in the open is dangerous to health?
4. Was the river a safe water supply?
5. What happened when the flies went to the faeces?
6. Why did the film teach that the man who coughed should cover his mouth?
7. Was it all right for the shopkeeper to sleep in the same room as his family?
8. Was it wise to shake hands with him?
9. After nursing the boy the mother washed her hands—Why?
10. How many ways did you see in which diseases were spread?
11. How would you check these?
12. Guinea-worm, diarrhoea, chest diseases and smallpox or scabies—how are they mainly carried?

UNESCO ASSOCIATED PROJECTS — V. THE DUJAILA FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION PROJECT IN IRAQ

A. B. TROWBRIDGE

The area in Iraq called Dujaila lies 135 miles south-east of Baghdad, the nearest town being Kut, on the Tigris. The land settlement project there is the Middle East's pioneering and largest effort to grant land to formerly landless farmers. The area is irrigated by a network of canals branching off on both sides from the main Dujaila canal. It takes about two hours to motor across this flat expanse, and one is astonished to find no villages, only groups of four mud farmhouses one kilometre apart, built at the cross sections of four allotments of 100 donums each (about 62½ acres). There is neither doctor nor nurse in the area, and only two small dispensaries, served by male 'dressers'. Four elementary schools teach a total of not more than 500 boys out of about 6,000 children of school age. This means that most of the children live too far from these schools to attend, and no girls in the whole area went to school until Unesco started a demonstration school for girls in January 1953.

As in other irrigated areas in the Middle East where the only water for drinking, cooking and washing comes from the canals, the people suffer from bilharzia and other water-borne intestinal diseases. Many of the settlers came to Dujaila from conditions of extreme poverty; most were illiterate and without knowledge of sanitation and hygiene. They suffered from diseases to be expected from unsanitary living conditions, overcrowding and general undernourishment.

In 1950 the Iraqi government requested Unesco to send out a fundamental education team, to establish a pilot project which would demonstrate how such a rural area could be served by an educational campaign to raise the peoples' economic standards, increase literacy and improve their general living conditions.

After a preliminary survey in 1951, a small beginning was made in the spring of 1952 when two Unesco specialists, Dr. Margaret Hockin (Canada) in women's work, and Dr. H. J. Rousseau (South Africa) in literacy and schools, went to Dujaila for two months, accompanied by three Iraqis who were awaiting travel fellowships to study abroad. With inadequate transport and no budget allotted to the work, they worked heroically under extremely difficult circumstances, building a foundation on which an enlarged staff of four additional international members and seven Iraqi trainees could make a fresh start in the autumn of 1952.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Fundamental education always tries to meet immediate needs. The first and most pressing need was for medical care, so a small clinic was opened at 'Kilo 29',¹ our centre, by the health specialist Miss Enriqueta Lopez (Mexico), which soon was crowded with visitors, some of whom rode or walked from incredible distances to be treated. But treatments alone are not enough. They must always be accompanied by instruction. This is done partly at the clinic where the health educator and her Iraqi assistants try to make every treatment a moment of education, explaining how illness came to be, how to treat it and how to avoid its recurrence. An average of 50 to 60 persons attend the clinic daily. After the clinic closes, to reach those who do not or cannot come to it, the health group goes off in a car to visit the farms. In this combined way over 2,000 persons have been treated monthly and given health instruction.

The curse of Iraq is the impure water which most of the people in the rural areas drink. The age-long tradition of using canals as latrines is the source of much contagion, for intestinal diseases are thus spread from person to person. Wells for drinking water are not possible in this heavily salted land. It will take many years before the people are taught to make and use latrines, but we are making a small beginning in this practice, especially by teaching the children in the schools. The workers carry on a continuous campaign to urge the farmers' wives to filter water in clay filters (*hebs*) before drinking it, or to boil their water, and to chlorinate it every time a *heb* is filled. Bottles of chlorine powder (tropical bleaching powder) were donated by the Ministry of Health and have been distributed widely among the farms; the use of the powder has been demonstrated and its benefits explained. We believe we have started a practice of major importance which should spread throughout Iraq and, we hope, to other Middle Eastern countries.

The staff members and Iraqi trainees have been able to inoculate hundreds of persons against smallpox and typhoid, and to give injections to those infected with bilharzia. The people are beginning to appreciate the meaning of preventive medicine and care. Much of the prevailing sickness can be traced to undernourishment, for the people lack a balanced diet of vegetables, meat, fruit, milk and eggs. This is a matter to be dealt with by the whole team, as it includes agricultural improvement and instruction, home economics and co-operative societies (not yet organized by the farmers).

PROVISION OF SCHOOLS

There was no school near our centre, so we decided to start one both to bring education to the many little boys around us and also to have an experimental and demonstrational school of our own in which we could put into practice fundamental education principles

¹ That is, H.Q. of the mission at the settlement 29 kilometres from the town of Kut.



Construction of a septic tank.

and methods and try out new methods of teaching literacy. Along with the three R's we wanted to teach health and sanitation, simple agriculture, the care of chickens and animals, co-operation and recreation. We wanted to demonstrate that a large part of real education goes on outside the classroom, after school hours. Our school was thus a teacher training centre for fundamental education for our Iraqi trainees, and the small boys were our happy guinea pigs.

The results were quite exciting, for within three months most of the schoolboys were reading and writing simple material fairly fluently. A visiting director of education was astonished and said, 'You have done in three months what it takes us a year to do.' The boys learned how to keep themselves clean, how to avoid sicknesses which come through drinking impure water and how to work and play together as a school community. A small school co-operative store was started, each boy who could afford 20 fils becoming a shareholder. Within three months an original capital of seven dinars had mushroomed to total sales of over 79 dinars. The boys helped level a volleyball court, made a football field and planted a fine plot with wheat and barley, sharing in the crop at the end of the harvest. They also helped to build a chicken house out of old bricks found in the neighbourhood. A vegetable garden now promises excellent vegetables, some of which the boys will take home, selling the rest to our kitchen. The school grew from 15 boys in the spring of 1952 to 55 in 1953, and now numbers 110—a large handful for our teacher-trainees.

One of our first principles is to promote what eventually can be taken over by the government or by the people themselves. We were therefore delighted when we returned in the autumn of 1953 to see a fine four-room school building erected near our office building with an apartment for a married teacher or several unmarried teachers. However, owing to the severe teacher shortage in Kut Liwa, no official teachers could be appointed, so again we assumed responsibility for this school, and the Director of Education turned the whole building over to us.

The fact that no girls' school existed in all the area had to be dealt with, so we opened a small demonstration school for little girls, starting with four at Kilo 29. We soon transferred it to Shakha 7 at the request of the farmers in that district, who had many more girls anxious to attend. We soon had a happy group of 18 girls accommodated in the former men's club building, turned over to us after the collapse of the large Dujaila Co-operative Society. The school was late in starting but by January this year there were 52 girls. Divided into two classes, these were taught sewing, cooking, health and recreation along with the three R's. The girls learn to make their own dresses from material supplied by the government. It is hoped that in a year's time teachers can be appointed to take over this school on a permanent basis, setting our own trainees free for other work.

The basic need in Dujaila is to help the farmers to raise their own economic levels. In spite of a relatively high standard compared to what they had known before, most of the farmers find it necessary to go into debt to the merchants for their winter food supplies, and this burden of debt is on the increase—a most serious situation. Rural industries and cottage industries are urgently needed, to help increase family incomes as well as to train young people in various vocations in which they can find future employment, such as carpentry, masonry, care of farm machinery and cars, etc. To answer these needs, a carpentry shop and mechanics and metal workshop were constructed at Shakha 11, under the able direction of our technical expert, Mr. V. R. Chitra (India), with funds donated to the Government Land Development Department by the Ministry of Development. In this factory, woollen yarn will be made which the women can use in their homes for weaving cloth, and inexpensive cotton and woollen cloth will be woven on hand and power looms to provide the needs of the area, as well as give training to the young weavers employed. The factory will provide a market for wool and cotton, and will eventually establish a barter exchange system by which the farmers will receive—for their raw cotton and wool—cloth and even household necessities such as tea, sugar, rice, dates, soap, etc., though this awaits further developments. Young people who are being taught to operate the looms can earn their own looms which will be made in the carpentry and machine shops. Thus the home industries will spread, making considerable savings for the farmers' families. During last summer, some 20 boys were trained in carpentry and metalwork, and some of them were retained as carpenters' assistants.

Miss Noemi Lopez (Mexico) directs the home economics work. Accompanied by Iraqi women trainees, she goes out mornings and afternoons to visit isolated farms, row by row. Such visits must not be hurried, and must be repeated again and again to win the confidence of the farm women and to organize sewing and knitting classes where requested. Twenty-one classes now meet regularly and the women are rapidly learning skills hitherto unknown to them. Of course, along with these classes goes a constant educational effort to help them to appreciate cleanliness of person, home and farmyards. The use of high stoves made of mud brick, to keep the cooking off the floor and the smoke out of the rooms, is meeting with considerable success. The construc-



Rural industries—the weaving and spinning workshop.

tion of compost pits to make use of the refuse around the farmyards is also slowly becoming a common practice, as is the use of manure not used for fuel to fertilize fruit trees and vegetables. Teaching about the care and feeding of children and sick people is also part of this work.

Last year, the lack of an agricultural expert on our staff seriously handicapped effective work among the farmers in improving their crops, poultry and animals. However, with the coming of a well-trained Iraqi staff member, Azia Monsour, we now have an excellent agricultural educational programme. An agricultural intermediary school was needed to occupy and to train further the boys who have no chance of further education or training in agriculture after leaving the elementary school. So we started a small one at Shakha 7, for 10 boys to begin with, as a demonstration, with the assurance from the Director-General of Agriculture that if we could prove its feasibility, the Ministry would support it later on. Half time is devoted to theory, and the usual studies of Arabic, mathematics, English and mechanics, and the other half to practical work on the nearby school farm, consisting of an excellent vegetable garden and a sizeable wheat and barley farm. Six boys have started vegetable, wheat and barley plots of their own on their fathers' farms, a sort of '4-H Club' project we call a 'Future Farmers Club'. They are learning and applying modern methods of cultivation and irrigation, using both local manures and compost as well as chemical and 'green' fertilizers, to demonstrate on separate plots the difference in productivity between those which are fertilized and those which are not. Large plots of some 29 *donums* of land were ploughed and planted with wheat and barley for the boys of the elementary schools at Shakhas 7, 9 and 11. Nineteen of the older boys of Shakha 7 are now planting their own plots on their home farms, and pleading for help from our agricultural group.

LITERACY WORK

Literacy work began slowly in Dujaila, for the farmers saw little benefit in learning to read and write, though they were happy enough to see their children learning in the schools. By degrees this reluctance is being overcome, and if we had more trainees and more transport we could cover a large area with classes. We are now conducting 12 classes at the farms, each meeting twice a week. Some of the groups plead with us to come four times a week, at least three! This year the attendance is better, averaging about 22 persons in each group. The adults come more regularly and show a new spirit of wanting to learn. Some are very intelligent and learn rapidly. With more trainees and more transport, we could do far more in this line, but the absence of villages makes it impossible to assemble large groups regularly.



Constructing a new irrigation canal.

Led by Dr. H. J. Rousseau, the programme is working on a modified Laubach picture-letter method of teaching which is proving eminently successful. The Iraqi trainees quickly learn how to use this method, each making his own teaching aids. The material is under continuous refinement and revision as new pictures are found better adapted to the language of the Dujaila farmers. Follow-up reading material is always necessary and some of the trainees are writing short stories, plays and articles on health, farming, care of children, etc., which can be used by the adults as they learn to read. In time we hope to produce some valuable material for publication which can be used throughout Iraq and perhaps in other Arab countries.

DEVELOPING CO-OPERATIVES

With the recent arrival of an expert in co-operatives sent by the ILO, Mr. J. L. Raina, from India, we are hoping to rebuild on the wreckage of the former co-operative society which went bankrupt last spring. We shall have an uphill struggle to overcome the bitterness felt among the farmers who as shareholders never received any return on their original investments. We are starting with two small school co-operative stores and will open other stores as fast as they can be organized and supervised. Step by step we hope to expand into rural home industry co-operatives, buying and selling co-operatives and credit societies. The formation of the latter was started last year, but the loan of funds to such societies by the government awaits the registration of all the farmers' debts to the merchants of Kut, a long and difficult process.

Our difficulties have been many: the vast distances between farms and between the Dujaila districts, some of which are separated from their neighbouring districts by large areas of heavily salted land; the lack of a sufficient number of trainees and cars to transport them, preventing us from reaching the more distant shakhas; roads made impassable during the rainy season, shutting off some of the farm areas for weeks at a time; the frequent breakdown of our cars, with resulting limitations of our programme. Our housing has been crowded, but next year we look forward to the construction of a complete training centre in a more central district than Kilo 29, with adequate accommodation for international staff and trainees.

TRAINING LOCAL STAFF

The most important feature of the whole programme is the training of Iraqi personnel who can take over when Unesco withdraws from Iraq in 1956. Without trained workers to carry on the work, the whole project will have been a failure. At present we have two Iraqi men and one Iraqi woman acting as locally recruited staff, plus ten men and three women trainees. We hope next year to recruit at least 14 men and 14 women. We understand that the government plans to establish a national training centre for fundamental education to supplement the small number of trainees we can furnish annually.

The demonstrational and experimental stage of our work was completed last year, sufficiently for the government to make important plans for enlarging the work of fundamental education in Iraq. A special division of fundamental education and literacy was established within the Ministry of Education, with a full-time director in charge, which will be a great help to us. This division is already hard at work to push literacy work in all the Liwas, even in the army and police force and eventually in the prisons.

Two summer training courses in fundamental education lasting for three weeks were held, in Baghdad in 1952 and in Sulaimaniya in 1953. About 85 attended the first course, and 61 the second, mostly teachers from the primary and secondary schools. From these teachers outstanding persons were selected to work at Dujaila. A difficulty was encountered in the strong Iraqi tradition which forbids unmarried women from working in isolated rural areas. This year we were able to recruit only three new women

trainees whereas we hoped for at least eight or ten. This problem is being encountered in all the missions for social work and village improvement throughout Iraq and will not be solved easily. The whole development and expansion of fundamental education in Iraq will be held up unless women can be recruited to share in this work, for men are not allowed to work with women. If the programme is to be effective, half of the work must be with women who must be educated and informed on sanitation, health, home economics and literacy along with their men.

We are now assured that fundamental education is on the march in Iraq, and we humbly believe that our pilot project in Dujaila is pointing the way to extensive developments in other areas.

This section of the bulletin is intended for the free exchange of views on the basic issues and directions of educational work with adults. In the January 1954 issue we printed an article by Professor Watson Dickerman of the University of Michigan on 'Group Dynamics in the U.S.A.' at the same time inviting readers to express their views on the approach described. We proposed three questions which could lead to comment and below we print an article which gives certain reactions to two of these: (a) How far the findings might be conditioned by North American society and how far they were applicable without modification in other contexts? (b) In so far as they are accepted should the lecture be relegated to a comparatively minor place in adult education? Others may wish to take up further aspects of the debate—e.g. How in detail can individual and group interests be best reconciled? What approach is to be preferred with the more informal type of work e.g. with youth or factory groups?

1. THE AIMS AND METHODS OF ADULT EDUCATION

ROBERT PEERS

What do we mean by adult education? Professor Dickerman's article in the January issue on 'Group Dynamics in the U.S.A.' suggests the need for some further clarification of aims and methods.¹ It confirms the impression that, while much valuable research and many useful experiments in the field of adult education are in progress in the United States at the present time, there may be some danger of a confusion of aims, which must have an effect on the conception of the methods to be employed.

The immediate aims of adult education must be related to the circumstances and characteristics of the particular community and must therefore differ for different communities. But beyond all these differences, it is possible to think of ultimate aims which, in terms of human development, must be the same for all of us, at least for all who accept the democratic way of life. The methods adopted must have these ultimate aims always in view, whether we are concerned with fundamental education for so-called backward peoples, or with advanced adult studies for the citizens of those countries which already have highly developed systems of universal elementary and secondary education.

The difficulty is that not only the immediate aims but also the conception of ultimate aims tend to be influenced by the dominant interests of the moment; and even if, for the sake of expediency, we decide to concentrate exclusively on immediate objectives and leave the future to take care of itself, we cannot escape the dilemma, for what we do now in the sphere of education is helping to shape the future and therefore the extent to which the achievement of ultimate aims will be possible.

Tendencies in the United States today clearly illustrate this problem. Although the small, pioneer community is still an active memory, the vast changes of recent times, the progress of large-scale industry and the tremendous growth and influx of population,

¹ While this article is partly a reaction to Professor Dickerman's contribution it is also a criticism of certain trends in American adult education which are commonly associated with the group dynamics approach. It is not intended to imply that all the views or attitudes criticized are to be attributed to Professor Dickerman.

have greatly weakened the community spirit. Intense individual striving, too little controlled by the recognition of community interests, appears to threaten the stability of the entire society. Hence there is a growing consciousness of the need to create a new community sense, which should permeate both the loosely-knit neighbourhood groups of the great cities, and also the more specialized groups which exist for particular purposes, especially in large-scale industry and commerce, where common aims are so often obscured by conflicting interests.

Individual self-interest has been reflected in the past development of adult education in the United States. In its most highly organized forms, it serves predominantly utilitarian ends, either through the service which it gives to commercial, industrial and professional groupings, or by providing opportunities for individual advancement in the vocational or professional sense. It is estimated, for instance, that at least 75 per cent of students in university extension courses are aiming at credits leading to degrees or at higher professional qualifications which will increase their earning power. Courses which are purely cultural in their purpose represent a relatively small proportion of the total.

These tendencies have necessarily affected the methods of adult education. University extension courses in the main, reproduce the set syllabuses and lecture courses of the academic curriculum, and a vast development of correspondence courses follows the same general pattern. It is evident that adult education of this kind, however well it may serve other purposes, can contribute little to the solution of the urgent social problems which face the United States today. Public school adult education is less bound by traditional methods; but much of this also takes the form of stereotyped programmes, which bear little direct relation, except in the technical sphere, to ascertained community needs.

In the light of present conditions in the United States, the reaction against these established forms of adult education is understandable. They are criticized on the ground that they do little to change the behaviour of individuals and therefore contribute little to the improvement of human relationships or to community betterment. The conclusion follows that adult education should be directed specifically to these ends; that it should concern itself directly with the practical study of human relations and with action for community betterment.

So far, the argument is clear, and the reaction can be regarded as an entirely healthy one. The danger is that it may go too far and may substitute an equally narrow conception of the purposes and therefore of the methods of adult education for the one which it replaces. There is the implication also that the main emphasis in adult education should no longer be upon the individual but upon the group and the smooth operation of group activities. This is accompanied by a tendency to depreciate the importance of knowledge and to place the main emphasis upon action and the techniques which facilitate action. There are obvious dangers in this shift of emphasis, viewed from the standpoint of the ideals of a democratic society.

In so far as individuals do in fact function as members of groups, whether on a voluntary or a compulsory basis, it is, of course, desirable that unnecessary obstacles to the efficient working of such groups should be smoothed out of the way. To that extent, the study of group dynamics is necessary and valuable; but it must be firmly based on the more fundamental disciplines which underlie the study of human behaviour and social relationships. There is little permanent value, and indeed some danger, in the attempt to devise techniques for group management based merely on the superficial observation of groups in action. And to try to communicate these short-cut techniques to individuals who have no basic knowledge of the human forces with which they are dealing and little understanding of ultimate aims and purposes is to present to some individuals an instrument for the manipulation of others and to substitute an artificial and self-conscious procedure for the spontaneous interchange of ideas.

There are some significant phrases in Professor Dickerman's article. For instance, in

describing a controlled experiment, he says: 'The question was: which *method of persuasion*¹ would be most successful—lectures or discussion?' In advocating the latter, he points out that groups 'exert pressure for conformity on their members'. And again, 'groups punish nonconforming members in various ways, both obvious and subtle'. In dealing with his students, he uses 'a planning committee to try to reconcile disparities between my aims and theirs'.

Does this also link up with the current emphasis on 'Leadership'—the leader who knows and the others who are to be 'persuaded'? This is surely foreign to the whole conception of adult education in a democratic community. Conformity in response either to the leader or to group pressure is the last thing that is wanted in a progressive society. And 'persuasion' is no part of the job of the teacher of adults; he leaves that to the propagandists. Rather must he teach his students themselves to use facts as evidence in order to reach conclusions, and in order that they may be able to choose between conflicting ideas. Adult education, like any other group or individual activity, must be based upon knowledge. Action without adequate knowledge is either futile or dangerous, according to the nature of the action; and no system of group techniques can take the place of the disciplined pursuit of knowledge and understanding.

Where we can agree with Professor Dickerman is in his statement of the *conditions* for successful action, and this includes successful learning. Of course people do better if they feel happy and secure; if they have a friendly supervisor or teacher; if they know what they are doing and why they are doing it; and if they themselves share in the planning of their activities. These are matters of common experience, and it does not need experiments with selected groups to demonstrate them. They can perhaps be illustrated from the generally accepted methods of adult education in Britain—which are sometimes, however, forgotten in practice.

The term 'adult education' has a limited connotation in the United Kingdom. It means the liberal education of adults and normally excludes technical and vocational training. There are some who question the logicity of this distinction, since many adults are in fact engaged in vocational studies and must continue to be so engaged as the demands of technical and professional training become, with the growth of knowledge, more exacting. Provision is made by other agencies to meet these needs. There is, however, something to be said for the distinction made between liberal and vocational studies, since it may be hoped that, as the period of compulsory education is extended and more opportunities of full-time higher education are made available, education beyond the middle twenties will be concerned primarily with the needs of individuals and human beings, as parents and as citizens, although this need not preclude the communication of new knowledge through refresher courses at the higher technical and professional levels. At all events, the normal exclusion of vocational studies and professional qualifications from the field of liberal adult education has made possible freedom of experiment and escape from the restrictions of formal academic courses and examination requirements.

Let us follow the formation and progress of a reasonably good adult class in England from its beginnings. In each active centre there is normally a branch of the Worker's Educational Association, or an *ad hoc* committee, or some community association with educational interests. The resident organizing tutor of the university, or an organizer of the WEA, or an officer of the local education authority or of some other association concerned, will be in constant touch with these groups and will discuss with them the kind of course which they wish to follow in the coming class session. The final decision is the result of their own choice, and it is for the extra-mural department of the university, or the Workers' Educational Association, or the local education authority, according to the quality of the group and the nature of the subject, to meet their needs.

The first thing to be decided, once the subject is settled, is the choice of a tutor,

¹ The italics are the writer's.

and this again is determined in consultation with the group. Next, a syllabus is drafted by the tutor, approved by the providing body, and discussed in draft with the group. The first official meeting will be concerned with a discussion of the nature and layout of the course and a survey of the books and other material to be used. In the actual conduct of the course, the tutor may or may not lecture, according to the type of subject: more likely, he will limit his contributions to short periods of exposition interspersed by questions and discussion; and this will often be varied by papers read by members of the group, or contributions based on the experience of particular individuals. In all university extra-mural courses, members of the group are expected to undertake directed reading and written work, which may take various forms; and the tutor is required to discuss both written work and reading with individual students. The responsibility for the local arrangements—recruitment of students, keeping of records, following up of absentees, etc.—falls upon the local committee or group.

The study group, including the tutor, is united in a common purpose for the pursuit of knowledge and understanding of the subject. Practical problems are freely discussed by way of illustration and application, and there is no feeling of divorce from reality. There is no attempt to confuse the purpose of the group, as it exists for the business of adult education, with other desirable social purposes, although a large proportion of adult students do in fact take part in many other community activities, and large numbers of those who at present serve the community in many different capacities, as members of Parliament, as county and borough councillors, or as officers and committee members of voluntary associations, received their higher education in university tutorial or similar classes.

Thus adult education and social action are united without being confused. The proper balance is maintained between exposition and discussion. There is no need to make Professor Dickerman's black or white distinction between lecture or discussion as the more effective instrument of teaching, since both are used, and other appropriate methods of exposition also.

It may well be that the differences between those who are seeking to increase the effectiveness of adult education in the United States and those of us who are pursuing the same purpose in Britain are more apparent than real; that it is a question of emphasis rather than of ultimate goals, and that this arises out of differences in conditions in the two countries.

What in fact are we striving to achieve through the complex of efforts directed towards the good life in society? The main purposes may perhaps be summarized as follows:

1. The provision of opportunities for the development in each individual of the powers and possibilities which are his, for the service of others and for the fulfilment of his own personality.
2. The development of the kind of community in which this can be made possible. These are not conflicting aims, but they represent complementary streams of effort towards a common goal and the two should not be confused. They are applicable to every form of society and every type of community.

Individuals differ in their tastes and abilities. Many but not all will find their outlet in social service for community betterment; others will be concerned to develop special abilities and talents which will be of service to the community in other ways. It is difficult to see how, if adult education produces better, more tolerant, more gifted persons, it can fail to produce better communities.

This leads to a consideration of the second apparent difference of emphasis. There is in some quarters in the United States a reaction against adult education regarded as the communication of 'information'. The use of this word prejudices the issue, since it suggests handing out a jackdaw-like collection of facts. If by 'information' is meant the acquisition of knowledge, that is surely an essential part of the educative process, whatever the immediate end in view; there are no short cuts to make unnecessary

the longer road of organized study. To realize the truth of this, it is only necessary to consider the basic needs of an educated adult, whatever his special interests or activities.

First, he needs an adequate knowledge of language, which can be developed as part of any disciplined course of study. Language is the stuff of which thinking is made; and the precise use of words must be the basis of all effective discussion and of all decisions for group action.

Secondly, he needs to know and to understand the facts of his own environment, and not merely in a superficial sense. The educated person must have some knowledge of the facts of history, of the background of present national and world problems, of the facts of science, of the nature of the culture which he shares, both in his own community and in the larger society. Such knowledge is necessary for civilized intercourse and for effective social action.

Finally, in relation to his own special interests as an individual, he must be able to share the experience, past and present, of others in his own field. In the process of acquiring the relevant facts and ideas, he must learn how to handle them with judgment and understanding.

For the acquisition of this knowledge and of these qualities of discrimination and understanding, continuous periods of organized learning are necessary—learning which cannot be completed in childhood or adolescence and which, in any case, requires the maturity of adult experience. It certainly cannot be achieved in the course of group action for other purposes.

By all means let us learn, among other things, all that we can about the ways in which adults behave, both in groups and in other situations. But let us beware lest new lamps for old in adult education should lose us the talisman to unlock the treasures of knowledge and understanding.

2. CAN WE BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT?

ABBOTT KAPLAN

Since the old World Association of Adult Education (whose documentation is now in the hands of the National Institute for Adult Education, 35 Queen Anne Street, London, W.1) was disbanded in 1939, many adult educators have felt there was justification for the creation of a similar association to replace it. Efforts towards regional and functional grouping have gone forward and in many cases borne fruit (for a listing of these, new and old, see the 'International Non-Governmental Organizations' section in Unesco's International Directory of Adult Education).

In this article in our Open Forum series the author, an assistant director of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., examines some of the recent efforts made towards creating an international movement and argues some of the justifications for its birth. He states clearly also some of the reasons advanced for postponement. Readers familiar with the complexity of the field, the many winds which blow across it and its relative state of cultivation, arability and potential productivity are invited by the author and the Secretariat of Unesco to state their views for or against.

A. THE QUESTION OF A WORLD ASSOCIATION

At the 1952 annual meeting of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. at East Lansing, Michigan, a resolution was passed that the AEA take action as promptly as possible to bring about closer co-operation with adult education organizations and

educators of other countries and explore the possibility of establishing a world adult education association.

In the past five years a number of international conferences and seminars on adult education have taken place at which the question of closer international co-operation between adult educators and adult education organizations was repeatedly raised. The Unesco Elsinore Conference in 1949¹ stressed the importance and necessity for international co-operation in adult education. At subsequent European conferences and seminars—Mondsee (Unesco), Austria 1950; Marly-le-Roi, France, 1952; Salzburg, Austria, 1952; La Brévière (Unesco), France 1953; Gardone, Italy, 1953—not only the desirability but methods and means of international co-operation were extensively discussed.

Some concrete steps have already been taken by the participants in the Mondsee and subsequent seminars. At Marly-le-Roi the participants decided to hold regular international seminars on adult education, to issue an international bulletin called *Co-operation*, and to establish a network of international holiday centres for adult educators and their families. The bulletin *Co-operation* has been appearing and for the summer of 1953 a network of international holiday centres for adult educators was organized in Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy.

The resolution of the AEA's 1952 annual meeting came, therefore, at a time when adult educators in many countries were expressing similar sentiments concerning the desirability of closer co-operation and the need for some regular and direct means of communication and international contact.

To implement the East Lansing resolution it was deemed essential to take a preliminary sounding of reactions abroad to the association's proposal. To this end a brief questionnaire was sent to a sampling of 30 adult educators in various countries outside the United States.

All the respondents agreed on the importance of closer international contact and regular channels of communication. There were differences of opinion, however, as to whether it is feasible or the time ripe to establish a world association in the 'near future'.

Fourteen of the 24 educators who replied answered in the affirmative. Five advocated an international association of individual adult educators rather than a world association which they construed to mean a federation of national adult education associations. Three indicated that, while a world association might be established at a later date, it was neither desirable nor feasible in the immediate future. Two advocated the establishment of regional associations first which could eventually provide the basis for a world association.

Those supporting the establishment of a world association in the near future gave a wide variety of reasons for the positions they had taken. The ones most frequently cited were that a world association could: contribute to the development of international understanding and the establishment of world peace; provide the opportunity and mechanism for the solution of common problems; provide for a pooling and exchange of ideas, experience and information; develop opportunities for direct international contact among adult educators through meetings and correspondence; act in a consultative capacity to Unesco, representing all phases of adult education; stimulate the development of national associations in those countries where they do not exist; be of great assistance to the smaller countries and to those countries where adult education is just beginning.

Unfortunately, space does not permit presentation of all the statements or even of a selected number.

The five respondents who espoused an international association of individual adult educators rather than a world association of national associations paid tribute to the

¹ For an account of this see: Vol. I, No. 4, October 1949, p. 42.

efforts of Unesco, suggested that its help be sought in any steps that were to be taken, but felt that a non-governmental, international association of adult educators could meet strongly-felt needs not at present being met by Unesco, and being met to only a limited degree and for a specialized group by the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations.

The views expressed by this group may be briefly summarized as follows: Although Unesco provides some degree of international contact it is an official, governmental organization, the creation of national governments. It depends on the decisions of member governments. It is unwieldy and its action is therefore necessarily slow.

It is not possible to develop a world association which would be an association of national associations because most countries do not have representative national adult education associations.

In many countries, on the other hand, there are national associations of special interest groups which as yet have no common ties. In some instances they are in serious disagreement. Conflict over national representation in an international body would only tend to hinder national co-operation.

An association of associations is likely to be cumbersome and bureaucratic and merely provide officials the opportunity to attend international conferences.

An association of national organizations tends to give rise to political manoeuvring and partisan pressures.

An association of individuals would be more desirable because it would involve people personally and directly.

It would be more responsive and flexible.

In an association of individual educators, communication would be direct and would not have to go through governmental and organizational machinery.

A federation of associations is necessarily anonymous. In an association of individuals warm, personal relationships are developed and greater participation by members is secured.

The international seminars held after Mondsee, the publication of *Co-operation*, the establishment of the 'net' of international holiday centres for adult educators, are a reflection of what can be accomplished after personal contacts among adult educators have been established. An international association of adult educators could expand these, as well as develop new ideas and activities throughout the world.

Those who expressed opposition to the establishment of a world adult education association took exception to the possibility or desirability of its being established in the near future rather than to the proposal as such. They supported the desirability of pooling ideas and experiences and of establishing closer international contacts, but questioned whether the time was ripe for a world association in view of the non-existence of national associations in many countries, and of the very great differences in the interpretations placed on the term 'adult education' not only in different countries but within countries. The fear was expressed that the premature formation of a world association 'would only transfer to a wider stage the unresolved conflicts about purposes and methods which are apparent in more limited areas'.

All but one or two of the respondents felt that a world association could contribute considerably to the development of adult education in their countries. A number pointed out that international co-operation automatically strengthens the position of the national adult education movements; that a world association would lend intellectual and moral support and would increase the effectiveness of adult education as well as the status of adult educators. They were of the opinion that a world association would particularly encourage the development and expansion of adult education in the smaller countries and those where little has so far been done.

Nineteen of the 24 persons answering offered concrete suggestions as to the first step to be taken toward the establishment of a world association. Inasmuch as most

of these suggestions involved an international meeting of one kind or another, the implication in most of the responses was that further steps would hinge on the decisions made and actions proposed at an international conference.

From the views expressed it is apparent that there is widespread support among adult educators in different parts of the world for closer contact and collaboration and for some type of international, voluntary organization of adult educators. The next section deals with a proposal for an international association submitted to the membership of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. for discussion.

B. A PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The Elsinore Conference worked out a programme for permanent contacts and exchanges between adult educators. The most important recommendations embodied in the programme were: to send missions from countries where adult education is more highly developed to those less advanced; to organize visits, international summer schools, study tours; to arrange international seminars on vital and urgent problems; to speed up exchange of information.¹

The conference was convinced that an effective world-wide adult education movement had to be developed if the aims of Unesco and of the conference were to be achieved. It believed, however, that it was premature at that time to recommend the establishment of a permanent world organization for adult education.

Since the Elsinore Conference, a number of recommendations have been implemented, but to a degree necessarily limited by the means available to Unesco.

The success of these limited efforts has stimulated the desire for a broadening of international contact among adult educators and demonstrated the potentialities of co-operative activities and increased international contact.

Aside from the developments within the adult education movement itself, recent events on the international scene suggest the peculiar appropriateness of measures toward an international organization at this time. One of the commissions at Elsinore stated that adult education must aim at developing a spirit of tolerance, it should try to reconcile differences—such as those between Eastern and Western Europe—by an objective approach to world problems; it must strive for understanding between peoples, and not simply between governments.²

The five years since Elsinore have not been notable for the development of 'a spirit of tolerance' nor of reconciliation of differences between East and West. The war in Korea is now over. The opportunity for a lessening of tensions between East and West is greater now than it has been for a long time. On the other hand, the potentialities for increased misunderstanding among the countries of the West seem, at this writing, to have grown.

If ever a time were propitious—the world situation cries out for understanding between peoples—it is the present. We have been through a period of progressively declining international relationships. Almost on the threshold of the final cataclysm, we are now presented with a last chance. Shall we seize it and build international understanding? Or shall we, as in the past, abandon the field to the 'statesmen'?

Some may feel that the potential effectiveness and influence of adult educators, and any international organization they may form, is exaggerated here. Unquestionably, in the short run, the politicians make the decisions. Over the longer pull, however, the potential impact of adult educators is far greater than we ourselves have been willing to recognize. This impact will not be realized to its fullest, however, unless and until

¹ *Summary Report of the International Conference on Adult Education*. Paris, Unesco, 1949. 'Report of Commission 4', pp. 28-34.

² *ibid*, p. 28.

we overcome our caution and self-depreciation and begin to think of international organization and co-operation in less traditional and orthodox terms. Perhaps it is even no longer a question of whether the time is ripe but whether it is too late and we've muffed the ball. Let us hope this is not the case.

Objections have been raised in various quarters to the establishment of a world adult education association at this time. Obviously, the difficulties cannot be lightly dismissed. On the other hand, they should not be exaggerated or permitted to paralyse all efforts at closer international co-operation in the field. Furthermore, should not these obstacles be examined in the light of the objectives of a proposed international association?

Implicit in several of the objections raised to the establishment, at this time, of a world association are two assumptions which may be questioned. The first is that a world association must necessarily be a federation of national bodies, and the second is that these bodies must be representative of all or most of the adult education organizations in their respective countries. Now these assumptions may be valid for a theoretical conception of an ideal structure for an international organization. They might also be essential or desirable for an international association which assumes direction over its affiliates or co-ordinates their activities or makes decisions binding its constituent members or establishes a creed, a programme, an ideology or a methodology which all must accept. Such legislative bodies, whether of government or voluntary organizations, must have a well-established hierarchy of representative levels. But is that the kind of organization we would want even if most countries had representative national associations? In actual fact few international federations are permitted such broad powers. Structurally, some have representation from more than one national organization in a single country (the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for example). At the same time there are international associations which include organizational representation from countries (not limited to a single organization from each country) as well as individual memberships (for example, the International Conference of Social Work).

Perhaps we would do better to think in terms of a movement rather than of a rigid, formal organization. Its function would be to act as a catalyst, to stimulate the growth and development of adult education and international understanding in all parts of the world; to give adult educators in all countries a sense of a common cause; to improve their competence through exchange of information, experiences and methods, and, perhaps most of all, to communicate a vibrant faith and confidence in the educability of man and the possibility, through education, of social progress and improvement for all peoples.

Such an association would not be a legislative body nor a political organization. It would not direct or co-ordinate. Its structure might well be patterned on the U.S. Adult Education Association which has a base of individual memberships as well as a council of national organizations representing the many national organizations in the U.S.A. having specialized educational interests and programmes. I am aware of few national associations in that country which are as democratically conducted and as responsive to its membership as the AEA. There are no insuperable obstacles to prevent an international association from being as democratic and responsive.

In view of the different stages of development of adult education in various countries, the AEA pattern would appear to be peculiarly well suited. According to this pattern, an international adult education association would have memberships of individual adult educators and a council or committee of associations, which might include national organizations, international bodies with interests in special areas of adult education and regional groupings. The planning board of the association could consist of representatives of the individual members as well as of the organizational affiliates.

This of course is a general proposal. A blueprint for an international association cannot be drawn by a single individual. No doubt there are difficulties and weaknesses in the

proposed pattern. But it offers flexibility and can most readily meet the national variations in organization and development.

It has therefore been recommended that the Adult Education Association of the United States consider the desirability of taking the following actions:

1. Draw up a statement of a few fundamental ideas for widespread discussion as well as a proposal describing a general pattern or structure for an international association, and submit these for discussion and comment to leading educators, to national and international associations concerned with adult education.
2. If widespread support for these ideas is manifested, recommend to Unesco the calling of a broad representative international conference, by 1955 at the latest, to establish an international association.
3. Recommend to Unesco that a small committee meet during 1954 to prepare the materials, agenda, alternative structural patterns, suggested functions and objectives, for consideration by the 1955 Conference.

Meantime the International Affairs Committee will continue in its efforts to promote closer co-operation with adult education organizations and educators of other countries. It has already proceeded with the organization of a visit of leading Canadian and American adult educators to meet with their colleagues in various parts of Europe in the summer of 1954 and will promote similar collaborative efforts whenever possible.

NOTES AND RECORDS

INTERNATIONAL

AFGHANISTAN

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ILLITERACY¹

Considering the small percentage of literates in Afghanistan, the Ministry of Education devotes careful attention to this matter, and has been taking effective steps for its eradication since 1951. The campaign against illiteracy for raising educational level and standards of living of the masses has, during the past three years, been continuously carried on in two ways: (a) expansion of village schools; (b) establishment of courses of adult education.

Village or Rural Schools are those educational institutions which impart elementary education to rural children and are established by the government. Such schools are opened in regions where no regular schools exist, or where populations are limited or scattered over a large area. All expenses of such schools, as well as the salaries of teachers and the cost of textbooks and equipment, are borne by the State. Rural schools run a three-years' course, during which students are taught reading and writing, general theological and social information and a little arithmetic, in their own mother language. Persons graduating from these schools become literate and can, with a little hard work, improve their standards of education.

Within the past three years 237 such schools have been opened in the remote areas of the country.

Adult Education Courses. In order to apply easily understood and modern methods to adult education, Dr. Laubach and his party were invited in 1951 to visit Afghanistan. He succeeded, with the help of the authorities of the Ministry of Education, in evolving methods of teaching Persian and Pashto to adults. The teaching of adults was divided into two courses and the necessary books and charts were drawn up by the ministry under the guidance of this mission.

At first the courses were established in the capital for illiterate adults and adolescent boys. When these experiments proved successful, a

few additional courses were established for women, with excellent results. Adult education courses were later extended to the provinces and are being expanded constantly.

FRANCE

Our readers will be interested in the appearance of a new periodical covering the same topics as our own. This is the *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre Français d'Information sur l'Éducation de Base et l'Éducation des Adultes* published by the Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique, 29 rue d'Ulm, Paris-5^e. Two issues have so far come to our attention each including notes on conferences and seminars which have been held, articles on various aspects of educational work with adults as well as notes on publications.

Television as an Aid to Popular Education

Almost three years ago, Mr. Roger Louis, a teacher working in the Department of the Aisne, France, conceived the idea of getting rural people to club together to buy television sets. This was how television clubs began; their rapid spread has led Unesco to undertake an experiment which may have considerable repercussions. There are at the moment 170 television clubs in the departments within range of the broadcasts from the Paris transmitter.² It was the fact of their existence, together with the fact that certain French agricultural areas are very similar, from the economic and social standpoints, to agricultural areas in various countries where television is likely to develop over the next few years, that encouraged Unesco to choose France for the

¹ From a report received from the Royal Afghan Ministry of Education, Kabul.

² As a rule, the people living in a village bring the teacher subscriptions of varying size, and this enables a receiving set to be installed in a classroom. Once the set is installed, the teacher arranges for community viewing. By charging a small entrance fee (20 to 40 francs) it is possible gradually to pay off the cost of the set.

experiment. Thanks to the interest shown in the scheme by the Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française and the enthusiastic help given by its members, a special series of 13 programmes for rural television clubs has been prepared and broadcast.

The experiment is aimed at determining to what extent television can be used as an instrument for raising standards of taste and knowledge and at working out a new method for adult education. There is no need to dwell on the wide scope of an experiment of this kind, at a time when television is about to invade the least developed and the least industrialized countries. This latest of the entertainment techniques is already spreading in Latin America; it is also becoming established in the Philippines and Morocco. India is seeking ways in which this new invention can be made to contribute to the progress of her people. These various countries are asking Unesco's advice in connexion with the preparation of programmes useful to the people and especially to the workers in rural districts. Up to the present, the potentialities of television in this respect have not been clear, but it should apparently be of the utmost use in countries where illiteracy is still very widespread.

The content of the programmes should be of a kind both to interest a wide public (since the number of transmitters is still too small to allow of the broadcasting of a great variety of programmes) and to arouse and hold the attention of the farmers without, however, imposing on them too great an intellectual strain (for it should be remembered that rural audiences, who have been working hard all day, need entertainment as much as food for thought in the evening). The themes used by Mr. Roger Louis and Mr. Bluval, who are responsible for the French programmes, are therefore questions familiar to the rural population but also likely to be of interest to town-dwellers: portrayal of scenes from present-day life in the district chosen for carrying out the experiment; study of the problems involved in rural life and of possible solutions; agricultural credit; reconstitution of estates under single ownership; agricultural co-operatives; motorization and mechanization of agriculture; part played by women and children; need to change agricultural work into a profession demanding a vocational training to be acquired in schools of agriculture or post-school courses.

Having regard to the importance of the experiment, Unesco felt that a scientific check should be kept on the results. A team of investigators, representing various disciplines, was

therefore asked to undertake with Unesco's support an extensive survey from the points of view of social psychology and educational psychology. Led by Mr. Dumazedier, a research worker at the Centre d'Études Sociologiques, the members of the team have prepared various instruments for the purpose of their inquiry: questionnaires on the behaviour of the country people before, during and after broadcasts; referenda on the equipment of the *communes* (parishes). They intend, with the help of the teachers who have organized the television clubs, to assess the changes that take place in the reactions of the public, not only to the special programmes in the emergency series but also to the various kinds of programmes offered by Télévision Française. For four months, the investigators will collect opinions and impressions from the inhabitants of rural *communes*—those who frequent the television club and those who only listen to the radio, young and old, men and women, farmers and farm-labourers, craftsmen and journeymen, fathers of families and bachelors, those who are 'educated' and those who are less so.

It would have been impossible to carry out a scheme of this kind without help from the teachers who are the leading spirits of the television clubs in small villages. In addition to their daily and essential work of teaching, these teachers are called upon to undertake a variety of other tasks, such as clerical work at the *mairie* or post-school and out-of-school activities. But they have readily agreed to help the team of sociologists responsible for conducting the survey in the Departments of Aisne, Aube, Oise and Eure-et-Loir. With praiseworthy devotion, they fill up the questionnaires, lead the discussions that follow the broadcasts, study the behaviour and note the changes that take place in their fellow-countrymen.

Thanks to the keen co-operation of the Ministries of Education, Agriculture and Information, of the Department for Youth and Sports, and of the board responsible for the execution of the modernization and equipment scheme, there are grounds for hoping that this survey will produce valuable results, which will contribute to the improvement of television programmes and mark a further stage in the development of popular culture.

INDIA

Organization of Literary Workshop. The Government of India, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation has planned to organize four

literary workshops to provide a short course of training for authors producing literature for neo-literates. The Ford Foundation will finance the organization of these four workshops which will work in different areas of the country, one having been already conducted near Delhi. For South India the workshop will be set up in Mysore city for one month under the auspices of the Mysore State Adult Education Council. Sri. T. Madiiah Gowda, member of the parliament and President of the Mysore State Adult Education Council will be the director.

The following South Indian States and Provinces will be represented in this Mysore literary workshop: Hyderabad State, Andhra Province, Mysore State, Madras Province, Travancore-Cochin State, Coorg.

The participants will be required to produce individual specimens of literature, in addition to studying the methods and principles of producing literature for neo-literates. They will be selected among those who have already written for neo-literates or have shown promise in the field and have a style which would influence other writers.

UNESCO NEWS

GROUP TRAINING SCHEME FOR FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION, MYSORE, INDIA

Unesco has organized in Mysore a Group Training Scheme for International Service in Fundamental Education in co-operation with the Governments of India and of Mysore State.

Ten fellowships covering the cost of travel and subsistence for the course have been made available by Unesco in 1953, four by the Government of India, and one student from Burma has received a fellowship under the Unesco Technical Assistance Programme.

The group is composed of 16 trainees, all college graduates, between 21 and 30 years of age, having relevant educational background and practical experience in their own countries. They come from nine different countries of Asia and Europe: Austria 1; Belgium 1; Burma 1; Denmark 1; France 2; Germany 1; Holland 2; India 6; Norway 1.

The scheme, which began on 16 November 1953 with a two-week orientation seminar in Paris for the European students, will continue until August 1954. Its purpose is to give to these students a course of nine months' training to equip them, as far as possible in the time available, as specialists in fundamental education.

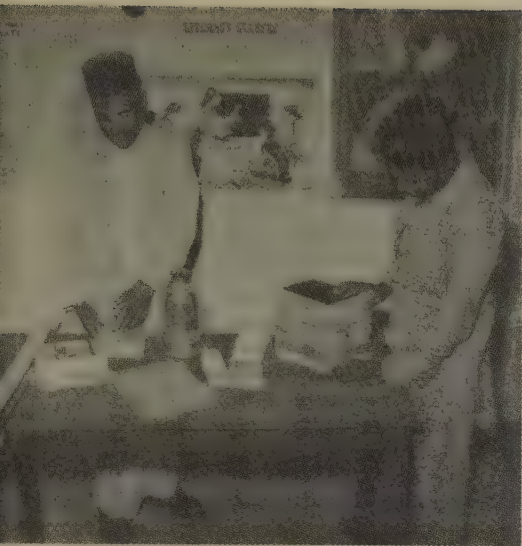
The training is designed to give participants the sort of knowledge and experience required: for *international* (technical assistance) service, in which experts may be called upon to assist governments or agencies, in countries other than their own, to plan and develop fundamental education projects and to train local workers for them; and for *national* service at the expert level, where fundamental education is developing in their own countries.

It has been assumed that a person cannot be equipped as an expert to train local workers in fundamental education unless he or she has had first-hand practical experience of the tasks such local workers are called upon to perform and of the situations they may have to meet. The course has therefore been designed to give practical field training in villages in close association with local workers. Particular emphasis is given to group training and leadership.

The Government of India and the Government of Mysore State have generously invited Unesco to carry out this project in their territory.

The State of Mysore has an area of 29,458 square miles. Being situated at an average altitude of 2,500 feet, it has an excellent climate with an average minimum temperature of 60° in December and 90° in May. Census reports taken in 1951 showed a population of 9,071,678, of which the greater proportion belong to the Kannada-speaking group. Apart from the two towns of Bangalore (population 406,760) and Mysore (population 150,540), the population of the State is largely agricultural, living in small villages.

The Government of Mysore has allotted for the course a spacious building with more than 30 rooms, known as the Yelwal Bungalow, which stands on a hill some 10 miles from Mysore City. Within a radius of two miles there are five villages which are probably less prosperous than the average villages of the State. These are serving as the 'practice area' for the training scheme, and the State authorities responsible for adult education and community development have agreed to assign to this area trained village workers with a good command of English, with whom the Unesco group can co-operate in their experimental training.



Preparing literacy material for despatch to village centres.

According to Unesco's experience, training is needed to fit specialists in fundamental education for the following functions:

1. *Directing fundamental education projects:* requiring an overall knowledge of the organization and finance of fundamental education projects, of the relationship of educational activities to other aspects of social and economic development, with some background, if possible, in anthropology and sociology and an ability to co-ordinate the work of staff of different nationalities in various subject fields.
2. *Adult education and particularly teaching adults to read and write:* requiring a background in education including psychology, teaching experience and a knowledge of methods of teaching reading and writing.
3. *Production of textbooks and follow-up reading matter for literacy teaching:* requiring practical knowledge of vocabulary selection, grading of material, typography and layout, printing processes, the organization of production programmes, the training and guidance of local writers and illustrators and the co-ordination of their work with that of specialists in various technical fields who will provide their subject matter.
4. *Production and use of films, filmstrips, posters and other visual aids for fundamental education:* requiring specialization in one or more of these media, knowledge of script writing and camera work, possibly cartoon and animation techniques, experience in local production of films, filmstrips, posters, etc.

at low cost, making full use of local dramatic and graphic talent.

5. *The use of radio for fundamental education:* requiring experience in the construction of educational radio programmes, an elementary knowledge of radio engineering and the use of recording equipment, experience of using local talent and of building programmes in various languages and for different cultural groups.
6. *The adaptation of library and museum services to fundamental education projects:* requiring experience of rural public library services, the use of book boxes and mobile units, the mounting of educational exhibitions, models, etc., or the use of educational museums.
7. *The encouragement of recreational activities, sports, drama, puppetry, folk dancing and traditional popular arts:* requiring experience in several of these activities.
8. *The application of social science to community surveys and to the planning and evaluation of fundamental education projects:* requiring training in anthropology and social science, knowledge of statistical methods, evidence of the successful accomplishment of community surveys and a knowledge of the structure and methods of social and economic development in underdeveloped areas.

The specialists working in the activities outlined above, having some previous experience in fundamental education or some specialist knowledge relevant to it, must learn to pass on their experience and knowledge in simple

language and to train local staff in their particular fields of competence.

The programme of studies of the Mysore group includes a survey of local schemes of fundamental education and community development in Mysore State and practical training in the villages of the area in co-operation with the local authorities. This practical work is supplemented by discussion and planning sessions. A special course prepared by the University of Mysore for the acquisition of a working knowledge of Kannada, the language of the training area, has been undertaken to enable participants of the scheme to communicate with local field workers and to facilitate contacts with the villagers.

The group has divided itself into three working teams specializing in basic survey and evaluation, literacy and audio-visual media; a fourth team, drawing its members from the other three, is studying local training of field workers, community organization, methods of Indian educators in raising the level of village life and ways to perfect techniques and materials for future fundamental education projects.

Local governmental departments and various training centres have been visited, such as the Mysore State Adult Education Council's Vidyapeetha (village training centres), the Extension Training Centre at Mandya, the National Extension Scheme at Malavalli and the Community Development Project at Shirkoppa in Shirnoga District.

Essential technical equipment has been provided by Unesco. Gift Coupons have also been received for certain items.

SEMINAR ON THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS IN EDUCATION

An international seminar for museum specialists and educators, sponsored by Unesco, will be held in Athens, Greece, from 12 September to 10 October 1954, as a sequel to that held in Brooklyn, New York, in 1952.¹ Dr. Grace L. McCann Morley of the San Francisco Museum of Art will direct the seminar, assisted by three group leaders chosen from Egypt, France and Turkey. The participants will be educators, such as individuals connected with ministries of education who are responsible for school curricula and teacher training, and museum workers actively engaged in educational work and interested in the problems of presentation and the use of museums and servicing agencies.

GIFT COUPON PROGRAMME

Increasingly, educators in more favoured situations are realizing that the Unesco Gift Coupon Programme offers a unique opportunity for them to play a role in direct assistance to those striving to build up their own effective system.

For example, in France a network of some 25 departmental 'correspondants' who have been appointed by the Inspecteur d'Academie,

¹ See *Some Papers on the Role of Museums in Education*, Paris, Unesco, 1952 (*Occasional Papers in Education*, No. 13).



Mysore students of spinning.

are actively promoting the programme in schools throughout their areas.

All educational authorities in the United Kingdom recently received a circular letter about Gift Coupon projects from the CEWC (Council for Education in World Citizenship), which is one of the co-ordinating bodies appointed by the Ministry of Education.

Japanese school children in all prefectures have been contributing yen to projects which have been allocated to the Japanese National Commission for Unesco.

Last year, in the United States, the Department of Classroom Teachers was the largest national contributor. Active participation is being recommended to local affiliates of other national organizations, such as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and the American Federation of Teachers.

The Canadian Home and Schools and Parents/Teachers Federation is also actively raising money.

Those interested in participating in this programme, either as receivers or givers, should address inquiries to: Unesco Gift Coupon Office, 19 avenue Kléber, Paris, France.

VACATIONS ABROAD

Courses, Study Tours, Work Camps

Many travel and study opportunities of interest to persons engaged in adult education can be found in *Vacations Abroad*, Volume VI, which was published by Unesco in April 1954. This is a new and enlarged edition of the publication which appeared in previous years as the Vacation Study Supplement to *Study Abroad*.

Vacations Abroad provides information on nearly 700 summer schools, courses, study tours, youth centres and work camps which are of interest to persons wishing to combine educational experience with travel abroad during their vacations. The book is divided into three main sections dealing respectively with vacation courses, study tours and work camps. The activities listed take place in 51 countries and are sponsored by a total of 393 organizations. Of these organizations, 13 are international and the remaining 380 belong to 31 different countries.

As a considerable amount of information is included concerning vacation activities in Latin America, for the first time, the publication appears in Spanish as well as French and English. Volume VI is published in a single trilingual edition, in which entries are printed in the language of the country in which activities take place.

Vacations Abroad can be bought from all Unesco national distributors at a cost of \$0.50; 3/-; 150 fr.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON RURAL ADULT EDUCATION

The Consultative Committee on Adult Education which advises Unesco on its adult education programme recommended that in 1954 the activities of the International Centre of Workers' Education, which had been holding seminars at the Château de la Brévière, France, in 1952 and 1953 (see Vol. V, No. 2, page 99) be decentralized. Accordingly an international seminar on adult education in rural areas will be held at the Grundtvigs Folk High School, Frederiksborg, Denmark, from 14 August to 4 September this year. All Member States of Unesco have been invited to send participants at their own expense, but Unesco will provide free board and lodging to those taking part.

The programme will consist of: (a) study of the general educational needs of an adult rural population, methods and curricula required to meet these needs and the organizational problems involved; (b) special problems of adult education in rural areas, such as international relations as a subject of education, methods and techniques suitable for teaching international understanding and the role of Unesco in this field.

Professor Milthers, Professor of Economic Agriculture at the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural College, Copenhagen, will act as the director of the seminar.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Two technical assistance projects in fundamental education are attaining the status of national centres.

In *Liberia*, the Klay Fundamental Education Centre¹ is being completed and was officially opened in the course of April 1954. It will provide boarding and training facilities for some 50 teachers and refresher courses will be organized for in-service teachers. A demonstration school attended by about 200 pupils will be attached to the centre.

The centre will give a more permanent character to the project which now includes a network of fundamental education schools and a clinic.

The clinic which is staffed by a visiting doctor and a permanent nurse was completed in June 1953. The medical treatment is given only once a week. It was attended in the

¹ See also Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 41.

course of the last two years by about 13,000 patients.

The network now includes fundamental education schools staffed by 25 teachers. Nine of these schools have been opened since January 1953 and another one is being completed. These schools are perhaps the most original feature of the project as they are designed for the school-age population with instruction given in reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography as well as in agriculture and practical subjects. Gola, the main dialect used in the area, is the vehicular language at the beginning but is soon replaced by English. All these schools have been opened as a result of a demand from the communities. To open a school, a number of requirements have to be met: the community must provide the school, which is built as simply and inexpensively as possible, a shop for the practice of handicrafts and a school garden where children are given practical instruction in agriculture. Free lodging has to be provided for the teachers and there must be a minimum of 20 pupils, half of them girls. More requests for fundamental education schools are now received by the team of experts than can be dealt with. These schools naturally play the part of community centres and community development activities are an important aspect of the project. For instance, 20 miles of roads and 10 bridges were built in the course of 1953.

The Unesco team now consists of Mr. R. Garraud (France) who acts as co-ordinator of the project; Mr. M. de Clerck (Belgium) who completed a successful fundamental education mission for Unesco in El Salvador and who takes special interest in the survey of conditions in communities¹ and of Mr. S. Rao (India), expert in adult education and literacy materials who organized adult education centres within the framework of the Minneriya project in Ceylon.

Liberian counterpart personnel including one specialist in rural development, two specialists in agriculture, one school inspector, one specialist in hygiene, two specialists in domestic science, one specialist in basket- and hat-making and one resident nurse, co-operate with the experts.

In the territory of *Somaliland* under Italian administration, Mr. A. Barrera Vasquez is carrying out a fundamental education project known as DAUFEP (Dinsor-Afis-Unesco Fundamental Education Project). Mr. Barrera Vasquez is assisted by a team which will be responsible for continuing the work when it is trained. It includes the prospective Italian director, a Somali assistant director of the

project, a midwife, a male nurse, a school teacher, an officer of the Department of Agriculture, a carpenter and a driver-mechanic.

The activities include the improvement of techniques in agriculture and handicrafts. Ploughs driven by oxen are now used for the first time in Somaliland and much emphasis is placed on brick-making for construction purposes, pottery work, and improved housing.

Other educational activities are given due attention. Evening courses for adults have been organized for literacy work and general instruction purposes. A library has been established and various recreational activities are conducted.

FELLOWSHIP IN LIBRARIANSHIP

The provision of library services is one of the more important ways in which fundamental education projects can be helped. We describe, as an example of the way in which Unesco is developing such services through the provision of technical assistance grants for training abroad, the case of an Indonesian librarian who returned to his country at the end of 1953 after spending nine months in Australia.

Mr. J. P. J. Kaparang, already an experienced librarian in Indonesia, was selected for training abroad in the latest techniques of documentation, cataloguing and library administration.

Mr. Kaparang's studies were arranged by Unesco through the Australian Government. He first attended the library school conducted by the Commonwealth National Library at Canberra. This course was followed by visits to libraries in New South Wales and opportunities for observing the methods of municipal libraries and country library services in Victoria.

Now that he has returned to Indonesia, Mr. Kaparang will assist senior librarians in carrying on the work initiated by an expert from abroad provided under the expanded programme of technical assistance.

ARAB STATES FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION CENTRE (ASFEC)²

Field work constitutes a vital part of the training at ASFEC, especially towards the close of the course. A period of full-time field work to test classroom instruction is thought necessary in order to provide opportunities not only to carry on instruction but to give a complete

¹ Vol. VI, No 2, April 1954, p. 63-70.

² See previous notes in: Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol. VI, No. 2.

picture of the role of a fundamental education specialist in a project.

Such full-time field work is now being provided to trainees who are to graduate in August this year, most of whom have moved into their demonstration villages which have become the centre of their activities. Under the guidance of the teaching staff they develop various fundamental education projects in health, community development, rural housing and village planning, home economics,

agriculture, rural crafts, literacy teaching and library work. Examples of the work done under these projects include: the organization of cleanliness campaigns for babies, for school-children, in the houses and in the streets; the establishment of co-operative societies; the improvement of the village stove; the development of nurseries; home sanitation; clean milk production; soap making; improvement of beehives; the opening of literacy classes and the establishment of village public libraries.

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